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E S S A Y
O N
M A N.

B Y *K*
ALEXANDER POPE Esq.
Enlarged and Improved by the AUTHOR.

With the NOTES of
Mr. WARBURTON.



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THE ESSAY ON MAN, to use the Author's own Words, is a *perfect System of Ethics*; in which Definition he included *Religion*: For he was far from that Opinion of the noble Writer of the *Characteristics*, that Morality could long support itself, or have even a real existence, without a reference to the Deity. Hence it is that the *first* Epistle regards Man with respect to the Lord and Governor of the universe; as the *second* with respect to *himself*; the *third* to *Society*; and the *fourth*, to *Happiness*. Having therefore formed and finished his *Essay* in this View, he was much mortified whenever he found it considered in any other; or as a part and introduction only to a larger work. As appears from the conclusion of his second Dialogue, intitl'd MDCCXXXVIII, where he makes his impertinent adviser say,

*Alas! alas! pray end what you began,
And write, next Winter, more Essays on Man.*

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which a MS. note of his thus explains :
“ The Author undoubtedly meant this as a
“ Sarcaſm on the ignorance of thoſe friends
“ of his, who were daily peſtering him for
“ *more Eſſays on Man*, as not ſeeing that the
“ four Epiſtles he had publiſhed entirely com-
“ pleted that ſubject.” But it muſt be own-
ed that the Public, by the great and conti-
nued demand for his *Eſſay*, ſufficiently freed
itſelf from this imputation of wrong Judgment.
And how great and continued that demand has
been, appears from the vaſt variety of pirated
and imperfect Editions continually obtruded
on the world, ever ſince the firſt publication of
the Poem ; and which no repeated proſecu-
tions of the Offenders have been able totally to
reſtrain.

THEſe were the conſiderations which have
now induced the Proprietor to give one per-
fect Edition of the *Eſſay on Man*, from Mr.
Pope's laſt corrections and improvements ;
that the Publick may from henceforth be ſup-
plied with this Poem alone, in a manner ſuita-
ble to its dignity, and to the honeſt intention
of its great Author.

Concerning the UNIVERSAL PRAYER,
which concludes the *Eſſay*, it may be proper to
obſerve that, ſome paſſages in the *Eſſay* having

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been unjustly suspected of a tendency towards Fate and *Naturalism*, the Author compos'd that Prayer as the Sum of all, to shew that his System was founded in Free-will, and terminated in Piety: That the first Cause was as well the Lord and Governor as the Creator of the Universe; and that by Submission to his Will (the great principle inforced throughout the *Essay*) was not meant the suffering ourselves to be carried along with a blind determination; but a religious acquiescence, and confidence full of hope and immortality. To give all this the greater weight and reality, the Poet chose for his Model the LORD'S PRAYER, which of all others best deserves the title prefixed to his Paraphrase.

The Reader will excuse my adding a word concerning the Frontispiece; which, as it was design'd and drawn by Mr. *Pope* himself, would be a kind of Curiosity, had not the excellence of the thought otherwise recommended it. We see it represents the Vanity of human Glory, in the false pursuits after Happiness: Where the Ridicule in the Curtain-cobweb, the Death's head crown'd with laurel, and the several Inscriptions, have all the force and beauty of one of his best wrote Satires: Nor is there less expression in the bearded Philosopher sitting by

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a fountain running to waste, and blowing up bubbles with a straw from a small portion of water taken out of it, in a dirty dish; admirably representing the vain business of School-Philosophy, that, with a little artificial logic, sits inventing airy arguments in support of false science, while the human Understanding at large is suffered to lie waste and uncultivated.

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THE DESIGN.

HAVING propos'd to write some pieces on Human Life and Manners, such as (to use my lord Bacon's expression) *come home to Men's Business and Bosoms*, I thought it more satisfactory to begin with considering *Man* in the abstract, his *Nature* and his *State*: since, to prove any moral duty, to enforce any moral precept, or to examine the perfection or imperfection of any creature whatsoever, it is necessary first to know what *condition* and *relation* it is placed in, and what is the proper *end* and *purpose* of its *being*.

The science of Human Nature is, like all other sciences, reduced to a *few clear points*: There are not *many certain truths* in this world. It is therefore in the anatomy of the Mind as in that of the Body; more good will accrue to mankind by attending to the large, open, and perceptible parts, than by studying too much such finer nerves and vessels, the conformations and uses of which will for ever escape our observation. The *disputes* are all upon these last, and I will venture to say, they have less sharpened the *wits* than the *hearts* of men against each other, and have diminished the practice more than advanced the theory of Morality. If I could flatter myself that this Essay has any merit, it is in steering betwixt the extremes of doctrines seemingly opposite, in passing over terms utterly unintelligible; and in forming a *temperate* yet not *inconsistent*, and a *short* yet not *imperfect* system of Ethics.

THE DESIGN.

This I might have done in prose; but I chose verse, and even rhyme, for two reasons: The one will appear obvious; that principles, maxims, or precepts so written, both strike the reader more strongly at first, and are more easily retained by him afterwards. The other may seem odd, but is true; I found I could express them more *shortly* this way than in prose itself, and nothing is truer than that much of the *force* as well as *grace* of arguments or instructions depends on their *conciseness*. I was unable to treat this part of my subject more in *detail*, without becoming dry and tedious; or more *poetically* without sacrificing perspicuity to ornament, without wandering from the precision, or breaking the chain of reasoning. If any man can unite all these, without diminution of any of them, I freely confess he will compass a thing above my capacity.

What is now published, is only to be considered as a *general Map* of MAN, marking out no more than the *greater parts*, their *extent*, their *limits*, and their *connection*, but leaving the particular to be more fully delineated in their charts which are to follow. Consequently, these Epistles in their progress (if I make any progress) will be less dry, and more susceptible of poetical ornament. I am here only opening the *fountains*, and clearing the passage; to deduce the *rivers*, to follow them in their course, and to observe their effects, would be a task more agreeable.

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§ 327, &c.

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ESSAY ON MAN.

EPISTLE I.

A WAKE, my ST. JOHN! leave all meaner things
To low ambition, and the pride of Kings.
Let us (since Life can little more supply
Than just to look about us and to die)
Expatiate free o'er all this scene of Man; 5
A mighty maze! but not without a plan;

NOTES.

VER. 1. *Awake my ST. JOHN, &c.*] The opening of this poem, in fifteen lines, is taken up in giving an account of the Subject; which, agreeably to the title, is an ESSAY ON MAN, or a philosophical enquiry into his *Nature and End*, his *Passions and Pursuits*.

The Exordium relates to the whole work, of which *the Essay on Man* was only the first book. The 6th, 7th, and 8th lines allude to the Subjects of this Essay, *viz.* The general Order and Design of Providence; the Constitution of the Human Mind; the origin, use and end of the Passions and Affections, both selfish and social; and the wrong Pursuits of Power, Pleasure, and Happiness. The 10th, 11th, 12th, &c. have relation to the Subject of the books intended to follow, *viz.* the Characters and

A Wild, where weeds and flow'rs promiscuous shoot,
 Or Garden, tempting with forbidden fruit.
 Together let us beat this ample field,
 Try what the open, what the covert yield ; 10
 The latent tracts, the giddy heights explore
 Of all who blindly creep, or sightless soar,
 Eye Nature's walks, shoot Folly as it flies,
 And catch the Manners living as they rise ;
 Laugh where we must, be candid where we can, 15
 But vindicate the ways of God to man.

NOTES.

Capacities of Men ; and the limits of Learning and Ignorance. The 13th and 14th to the Knowledge of Mankind, and the various Manners of the age.

VER. 7, 8. *A Wild—Or Garden*] The *wild* relates to the human *passions*, productive (as he explains in the second epistle) both of good and evil. The *garden*, to human *reason*, so often *tempting* us to transgress the bounds God has set to it, and wander in fruitless enquiries.

VER. 12. *Of all who blindly creep, &c.*] i. e. Those who only follow the blind guidance of their Passions ; or those who leave behind them common sense and sober reason, in their high flights thro' the regions of Metaphysics. Both which follies are exposed in the fourth epistle, where the popular and philosophical errors concerning Happiness are spoken of. The figure here is taken from animal life.

Next, he tells us with what design he wrote, *viz.*

To vindicate the ways of God to Man.

The Men he writes against, he frequently informs us, are such as *weigh their Opinion against Providence*, such as *cry, if Man's unhappy, God's unjust*, or such as fall into the notion, *that Vice and Virtue there is none at all*. This occasions the Poet to divide his vindication of the ways of God.

Ep. I. ESSAY ON MAN.

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I. Say first, of God above, or Man below,
What can we reason, but from what we know?
Of Man what see we, but his station here,
From which to reason, or to which refer? 20
Thro' worlds unnumber'd tho' the God be known,
'Tis ours to trace him only in our own.

NOTES.

into two parts. In the first of which he gives direct answers to those objections which libertine Men, on a view of the disorders arising from the perversity of the human will, have intended against Providence. And in the second, he obviates all those objections, by a true delineation of human nature, or a general, but exact, *Map of Man*. The first epistle is employed in the management of the first part of this dispute; and the three following in the management of the second. So that this whole book constitutes a complete *Essay on Man*, written for the best purpose, to vindicate the ways of God.

VER. 15. *Laugh, &c.*] Intimating that human follies are so strangely absurd and ridiculous, that it is not in the power of the most *compassionate*, on some occasions, to restrain their mirth: and that human *crimes* are so flagitious, that the most *candid* have seldom an opportunity on this subject to exercise their virtue.

VER. 19, 20. *Of Man what see we, but his station here, From which to reason, or to which refer?*] The sense is, we see nothing of Man, but as he stands at present in his station here: From which station, all our reasonings on his nature and end must be drawn; and to this station they must be all referred. The consequence is, all our reasonings on his nature and end must needs be very imperfect.

VER. 21. *Thro' worlds, &c.*] *Hunc cognoscimus solummodo per Proprietates suas & Attributa, & per sapientissimas & optimas rerum structuras & causas finales.* Newtoni Princ. Schol. gen. sub fin.

He, who thro' vast immensity can pierce,
 See worlds on worlds compose one universe,
 Observe how system into system runs, 25
 What other planets circle other suns,
 What vary'd being peoples every star,
 May tell why heav'n has made us as we are.
 But of this frame the bearings, and the ties,
 'The strong connections, nice dependencies, 30
 Gradations just, has thy pervading soul
 Look'd thro' ? or can a part contain the whole ?
 Is the great chain, that draws all to agree,
 And drawn supports, upheld by God, or thee ?

NOTES.

VER. 30. *The strong connections, nice dependencies,*] The thought is very noble, and expressed with great philosophic beauty and exactness. The system of the Universe is a combination of *natural* and *moral* Fitnesses, as the human system is, of *body* and *spirit*. By the *strong connections*, therefore, the Poet alluded to the *natural* part ; and by the *nice dependencies* to the *moral*. For the *Essay on Man* is not a system of *Naturalism*, but of *natural Religion*. Hence it is, that, where he supposes disorders may tend to some greater good in the *natural* world, he supposes they may tend likewise to some greater good in the *moral*, as appears from these sublime images in the following lines,

*If plagues or earthquakes break not Heav'n's design,
 Why then a Borgia, or a Catiline ?
 Who knows, but he, whose hand the light'ning forms,
 Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the storms ;
 Pours fierce Ambition in a Cæsar's mind,
 Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind ?*

Ep. I. ESSAY ON MAN. 5

II. Presumptuous Man ! the reason wouldst thou find,
Why form'd so weak, so little, and so blind ! 36

First, if thou canst, the harder reason guess,
Why form'd no weaker, blinder, and no less !
Ask of thy mother earth, why oaks are made
Taller or stronger than the weeds they shade ? 40

Or ask of yonder argent fields above,
Why Jove's Satellites are less than Jove ?

Of Systems possible, if 'tis confess
That Wisdom infinite must form the best,
Where all must full or not coherent be, 45

And all that rises, rise in due degree ;
Then, in the scale of reas'ning life, 'tis plain
There must be somewhere, such a rank as Man ;
And all the question (wrangle e'er so long)
Is only this, if God has plac'd him wrong ? 50

Respecting Man, whatever wrong we call,
May, must be right, as relative to all.
In human works, tho' labour'd on with pain,
A thousand movements scarce one purpose gain ;
In God's, one single can its end produce ; 55
Yet serves to second too some other use.

NOTES.

VER. 35 — 42.] In these lines the poet has joined the beauty of argumentation to the sublimity of thought; where the similar instances, proposed for his adversaries, examination, shew as well the *absurdity* of their complaints against Order, as the *fruitlessness* of their enquiries into the arcana of the God-head.

So Man, who here seems principal alone,
 Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,
 Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal;
 'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole. 60

When the proud steed shall know why man restrains
 His fiery course, or drives him o'er the plains;
 When the dull ox, why now he breaks the clod,
 Is now a Victim, and now Ægypt's God;
 Then shall Man's pride and dulness comprehend 65
 His actions', passions', being's use and end;
 Why doing, suff'ring, check'd, impell'd; and why
 This hour a slave, the next a deity,

Then say not Man's imperfect, heav'n in fault;
 Say rather, Man's as perfect as he ought; 70
 His knowledge measur'd to his state and place,
 His time a moment, and a point his space.
 If to be perfect in a certain sphere,
 What matter soon or late, or here or there?

VARIATIONS.

In the former Editions *ψ* 64.

Now wears a garland an Ægyptian God.
 altered as above for the reason given in the note.

After *ψ* 68. the following lines in first Ed.

If to be perfect in a certain sphere,
 What matters soon or late, or here or there?
 The blest to-day is as completely so,
 As who began ten thousand years ago.

NOTES.

VER. 64. — *Ægypt's God*:] Called so, because the *Apis*
 was worshiped universally over the whole land.

Ep. I. ESSAY ON MAN.

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The blest to day is as completely so, 75
As who began a thousand years ago.

III Heav'n from all creatures hides the book of fate,
All but the page prescrib'd, their present state;
From brutes what men, from men what spirits know,
Or who could suffer Being here below? 80

The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,
Had he thy Reason, would he skip and play?
Pleas'd to the last, he crops the flow'ry food,
And licks the hand just rais'd to shed his blood.
Oh blindness to the future! kindly giv'n, 85

That each may fill the circle mark'd by heav'n,
Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall,
Atoms or systems into ruin hurl'd,
And now a bubble burst, and now a world. 90

Hope humbly then; with trembling pinions soar;
Wait the great teacher Death, and God adore!
What future bliss, he gives not thee to know,
But gives that Hope to be thy blessing now.

NOTES.

VER. 87. *Who sees with equal eye, &c.*] Mat. x. 29.

VER. 93. *What future bliss, &c.*] It hath been objected that the *System of the best* weakens the other natural arguments for a future state, because, if the evils which good Men suffer promote the benefit of the whole, then every thing is here in order; and nothing amiss that wants to be set right: Nor has the good man any reason to expect amends, when the evils he suffered had such a tendency. To this it may be replied, 1. That the poet tells us (Ep. iv. & 359) that *God loves from whole to parts*. 2. That the

Hope springs eternal in the human breast :

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Man never Is, but always To be blest :

NOTES.

system of the best is so far from weakening those natural arguments, that it strengthens and supports them. For if those evils, to which good men are subject, be mere *Disorders*, without any tendency to the greater good of the whole ; then, though we must indeed conclude that they will hereafter be set right, yet this view of things representing God as suffering disorders for no other end than to set them right, gives us a very low idea of the divine wisdom. But if those evils (according to the *system of the best*) contribute to the greater perfection of the whole ; such a reason may be then given for their permission, as supports our idea of divine wisdom to the highest religious purposes. Then, as to the good man's *hopes* of a retribution, those still remain in their original force : For our idea of God's justice, and how far that justice is engaged to a retribution, is exactly the same on either hypothesis. For though the *system of the best* supposes that the *evils themselves* will be fully compensated by the good they produce to the *whole*, yet this is so far from supposing that *particulars* shall suffer for a *general good*, that it is essential to *this system*, to conclude, that, at the completion of things, when the whole is arrived to the state of utmost perfection, *particular* and *universal* good shall coincide :

*Such is the World's great harmony, that springs
From Order, Union, full Consent of things ;
Where small and great, where weak and mighty made
To serve, not suffer ; strengthen, not invade, &c.*

Ep. iii. y 296.

Which coincidence can never be without a retribution to good men for the evils suffered here below.

Ep. I. ESSAY ON MAN.

9

The soul uneasy and confin'd from home,
Rests and expatiates in a life to come.

Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind; 100
His soul proud Science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk, or milky way;
Yet simple Nature to his hope has giv'n,
Behind the cloud-topt hill, an humbler heav'n;
Some safer world, in depth of woods embrac'd, 105
Some happier island in the watry waste,
Where slaves once more their native land behold,
No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold!
To Be, contents his natural desire,
He asks no Angel's wing, no Seraph's fire; 110
But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company.

IV. Go, wiser thou! and in thy scale of sense
Weigh thy Opinion against Providence;

VARIATIONS.

After v 108. in the first Ed.

But does he say the maker is not good,
Till he's exalted to what state he wou'd:
Himself alone, high Heaven's peculiar care,
Alone made happy when he will, and where?

NOTES.

VER. 97 — *from home,*] By these words, it was the poet's purpose to teach, that the present life is only a state of probation for another, more suitable to the essence of the soul, and to the free exercise of its qualities.

Call Imperfection what thou fancy'st such, 115
 Say, here he gives too little, there too much;
 Destroy all creatures for thy sport or gust,
 Yet cry, If Man's unhappy, God's unjust;
 If Man alone ingross not Heaven's high care,
 Alone made perfect here, immortal there: 120
 Snatch from his hand the balance and the rod,
 Re-judge his justice, be the GOD of GOD!

In Pride, in reas'ning Pride, our error lies;
 All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies.
 Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes, 125
 Men would be Angels, Angels would be Gods.
 Aspiring to be Gods if Angels fell,
 Aspiring to be Angels, Men rebel:
 And who but wishes to invert the laws
 Of ORDER, sins against th' Eternal Cause. 130

V. Ask for what end the heav'nly bodies shine,
 Earth for whose use? Pride answers, "'Tis for mine:

NOTES.

VER. 123. *In Pride, &c.*] Arnobius has passed the same censure on these very follies, which he supposes to arise from the cause here assigned. — *Nihil est quod nos fallat, nihil quod nobis polliceatur spes cassas (id quod nobis a quibusdam dicitur viris, immoderata sui opinione sublati) animas immortales esse, Deo, rerum ac principi, gradu proximas dignitatis, genitore illo ac patre prolatas, divinas, sapientes, doctas, neque ulla corporis attritione contiguas. Adversus Gentes.*

VER. 131. *Ask for what end, &c.*] If there be any fault in these lines, it is not in the general sentiment, but a want of exactness in expressing it. — It is the highest absurdity to think that *Earth* is man's *foot-stool*, his *canopy the Skies*,

" For me kind Nature wakes her genial pow'r,
 " Suckles each herb, and spreads out ev'ry flow'r;
 " Annual for me, the grape, the rose renew 135
 " The juice nectareous, and the balmy dew;
 " For me the mine a thousand treasures brings;
 " For me, health gushes from a thousand springs;
 " Seas roll to waft me, suns to light me rise;
 " My foot-stool earth, my canopy the skies." 140

But errs not Nature from this gracious end,
 From burning suns when livid deaths descend,
 When earthquakes swallow, or when tempests sweep
 Towns to one grave, whole nations to the deep?
 " No ('tis reply'd) the first Almighty Cause 145
 " Acts not by partial, but by gen'ral laws;
 " Th' exceptions few; some change since all began,
 " And what created perfect?"—Why then Man?
 If the great end be human Happiness,
 Then Nature deviates; and can Man do less? 150
 As much that End a constant course requires
 Of show'rs and sun-shine, as of Man's desires;

NOTES.

and the *heavenly bodies* lighted up principally for his use; yet not so, to suppose fruits and minerals given for this end.

VER. 150. *Then Nature deviates, &c.*] " While comets move in very eccentric orbs, in all manner of positions, blind fate could never make all the planets move one and the same way in orbs concentric, some considerable irregularities excepted, which may have risen from the mutual actions of comets and planets upon one another, and which will be apt to increase, till this system wants a reformation." *Sir Is. Newt. Optics, Quæst. ult.*

As much eternal springs and cloudless skies,
 As Men for ever temp'rate, calm and wise,
 If plagues or earthquakes break not Heav'ns design, 155
 Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?
 Who knows but he, whose hand the light'ning forms,
 Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the storms,

NOTES.

VER. 155. *If plagues, &c.*] What hath misled some persons in this passage, is their supposing the comparison to be between the effects of *two things in this sublunary world*; when not only the elegancy, but the justness of it, consists in its being between the effects of a thing in the *universe at large*, and the familiar and known effects of one in *this sublunary world*. For the position inforced in these lines is this, that *partial evil tends to the good of the whole*:

*Respecting Man, whatever wrong we call,
 May, must be right, as relative to all.*

Y 51.

How does the poet inforce it? Why, if you will believe these persons in illustrating the effects of partial moral evil in a particular system, by that of partial natural evil in the *same* system, while he leaves his *position* in the lurch. But the poet reasons at another rate: The way to prove his Point, he knew, was to illustrate the effect of partial moral evil in the *universe*, by partial natural evil in a *particular system*. Whether partial moral evil tend to the good of the universe, being a question, which, by reason of our ignorance of *many* parts of that universe, we cannot decide, but from known effects; the rules of argument require that it be proved by *analogy*, *i. e.* setting it by, and comparing it with, a thing *certain*: and it is a thing *certain*, that partial natural evil tends to the good of our *particular system*.

VER. 157. *Who knows but he, &c.*] The sublimity with which the great Author of Nature is here characte-

Ep. I. ESSAY ON MAN.

13

Pours fierce Ambition in a Cæsar's mind,
Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?
From pride, from pride, our very reas'ning springs;
Account for moral, as for nat'ral things: 162
Why charge we Heav'n in those, in these acquit?
In both, to reason right is to submit.

Better for Us, perhaps, it might appear, 165
Were there all harmony, all virtue here;

NOTES.

rised, is but the second beauty of this fine passage. The greatest is the making the very dispensation objected to, the paraphrasis of his Title.

VER. 165. *Better for Us, &c.*] It might, says he, perhaps appear better to us, that there were nothing in this world but *peace* and *virtue*:

*That never air or ocean felt the wind,
That never passion discompos'd the mind.*

But then consider, that as our *material system* is supported by the strife of its elementary *particles*; so is our *intellectual system* by the conflict of our *passions*, which are the elements of human action.

In a word, as without the benefit of tempestuous winds, both air and ocean would stagnate, corrupt, and spread universal contagion throughout all the ranks of animals that inhabit, or are supported by them; so, without the benefit of the Passions, such Virtue as was merely the effect of the absence of those Passions, would be a lifeless calm, a stoical Apathy:

*Contracted all, retiring to the breast:
But health of Mind is exercise, not rest.* Ep. ii. v 93.

Therefore, instead of regarding the conflict of elements and the passions of the mind as disorders, you ought to consider them as part of the *general order* of Providence: And that they are so, appears from their always preserv-

That never air or ocean felt the wind ;
 That never passion discompos'd the mind :
 But ALL subsists by elemental strife ;
 And Passions are the elements of Life, 170
 The gen'ral ORDER, since the whole began,
 Is kept in Nature, and is kept in Man.

VI. What would this Man ? Now upward will he soar,
 And little less than Angel, would be more ;

NOTES.

ing the same unvaried course, throughout all ages, from the creation to the present time :

*The gen'ral order, since the Whole began,
 Is kept in Nature, and is kept in Man.*

We see, therefore, it would be doing great injustice to our author to suspect that he intended, by this, to give any encouragement to Vice. His system, as all his Ethic Epistles shew, is this ; That the *Passions*, for the reasons given above, are necessary to the support of Virtue ; That indeed the Passions in excess produce Vice, which is, in its own nature, the greatest of all Evils, and comes into the world from the abuse of Man's Free-will ; but that God, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, deviously turns the natural bias of its malignity to the advancement of human happiness, and makes it productive of general Good :

TH' ETERNAL ART EDUCES GOOD FROM ILL.

Ep. ii. v. 165.

VER. 169. *But all subsists, &c.*] See this subject extended in Epist. ii. from v. 90 to 112, 155, &c.

VER. 174. *And little less than Angel, &c.*] *Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour.* Psalm viii. 9.

Ep. I. ESSAY ON MAN. 15.

Now looking downward, just as griev'd appears, 175
To want the strength of bulls, the fur of bears.

Made for his use all creatures if he call,
Say what their use, had he the pow'rs of all?
Nature to these, without profusion kind,
The proper organs, proper pow'rs assign'd; 180
Each seeming want compensated of course,
Here with degrees of swiftness, there of force;

All in exact proportion to the state,
Nothing to add, and nothing to abate:
Each beast, each insect, happy in its own; 185
Is Heav'n unkind to Man, and Man alone?

Shall he alone, whom rational we call,
Be pleas'd with nothing, if not blest'd with all?
The bliss of Man (could Pride that blessing find)

Is not to act or think beyond Mankind; 190
No pow'rs of body or of soul to share,
But what his nature and his state can bear.

Why has not man a microscopic eye?
For this plain reason, Man is not a Fly.
Say what the use, were finer optics giv'n, 195

T' inspect a mite, not comprehend the heav'n?
Or touch, if tremblingly alive all o'er,
'To smart and agonize at ev'ry pore;

NOTES.

VER. 182. *Here with degrees, &c.*] It is a certain axiom in the anatomy of creatures, that, in proportion as they are formed for Strength, their Swiftness is lessened; or as they are formed for Swiftness their Strength is abated.

Or quick effluvia darting thro' the brain,
 Die of a rose in aromatic pain? 200
 If nature thunder'd in his op'ning ears,
 And stunn'd him with the music of the spheres,
 How would he wish that Heav'n had left him still
 The whisp'ring Zephyr, and the purling rill?
 Who finds not Providence all good and wise, 205
 Alike in what it gives, and what denies?

VII. Far as Creation's ample range extends,
 The scale of Sensual, Mental pow'rs ascends :
 Mark how it mounts, to Man's imperial race,
 From the green myriads in the peopled grass! 210
 What modes of fight, betwixt each wide extreme,
 The mole's dim curtain, and the lynx's beam :
 Of smell, the headlong lioness between,
 And hound sagacious on the tainted green :

NOTES.

VER. 202. *Stunn'd him with the music of the spheres,*] This instance is poetical and even sublime, but misplaced. He is arguing philosophically in a case that required him to employ the *real* objects of sense only : And, what is worse, he speaks of this as a *real* object. — If NATURE thunder'd, &c. The case is different where (in *l* 253) he speaks of the motion of the heavenly bodies under the sublime Imagery of *ruling Angels* : For whether there be *ruling Angels* or no, there is *real motion*, which was all his argument wanted ; but if there be no *music of the spheres*, there was no real sound, which his argument could not do without.

VER. 213. *The headlong lioness*] The manner of the lions hunting their prey in the deserts of Africa is this : At their first going out in the night-time they set up a loud roar, and then listen to the noise made by the beasts in their

Ep. I. ESSAY ON MAN. 17

Of hearing, from the life that fills the flood, 215
 To that which warbles thro' the vernal wood :
 The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine !
 Feels at each thread, and lives along the line.
 In the nice bee, what sense so subtly true,
 From pois'nous herbs extracts the healing dew ! 220
 How Instinct varies in the grov'ling swine
 Compar'd, half-reas'ning elephant, with thine !
 'Twixt that, and Reason, what a nice barrier,
 For ever sep'rate, yet for ever near !
 Remembrance and Reflection how ally'd ; 225
 What thin partitions Sense from thought divide !

NOTES.

flight, pursuing them by the ear and not by the nostril. It is probable, the story of the jackal's hunting for the lion, was occasioned by observation of the defect of scent in that terrible animal.

VER. 224. *For ever sep'rate, &c.*] *Near*, by the similitude of the operations; *separate*, by the immense difference in the nature of the powers.

VER. 226. *What thin partitions, &c.*] So *thin*, that the atheistic philosophers, as Protagoras, held that *thought was only sense*; and from thence concluded, that *every imagination or opinion of every Man was true*: Πᾶσα φαντασία ἐστὶν ἀληθής. But the poet determines more philosophically; that they are really and essentially different, how thin soever the partition is by which they are divided. Thus (to illustrate the truth of this observation) when a geometer considers a triangle, in order to demonstrate the equality of its three angles to two right ones, he has the picture or image of some sensible triangle in his mind, which is *sense*; yet, notwithstanding, he must needs have

And Middle natures, how they long to join,
Yet never pass th' insuperable line!

Without this just gradation, could they be
Subjected these to those, or all to thee? 230

The pow'rs of all subdu'd by thee alone,
Is not thy Reason all those pow'rs in one?

VIII. See, thro' this air, this ocean, and this earth,
All matter quick, and bursting into birth.

Above, how high progressive life may go! 235

Around, how wide! How deep extend below!

Vast chain of being, which from God began,

Natures æthereal, human, angel, man,

Beast, bird, fish, insect! what no eye can see,

No glass can reach! from Infinite to thee, 240

From thee to Nothing! — On superior pow'rs

Were we to press, inferior might on ours:

VARIATIONS.

VER. 238. Ed. 1st.

Æthereal essence, spirit, substance, man.

NOTES.

the notion or idea of an intellectual triangle likewise, which is *thought*; for this plain reason, because every image or picture of a triangle must needs be obtusangular, or rectangular, or acutangular; but that which, in his mind, is the subject of his proposition, is the *ratio* of a triangle, undetermined to any of these species. On this account it was that Aristotle said, Νοήματα τινὲ δόξει, τὰ μὴ φαντάσματα εἶναι, ἢ εἰδὲ ταῦτα φαντάσματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἄνευ φαντασμάτων. *The conceptions of the mind differ somewhat from sensible images; they are not sensible images, and yet not quite free or disengaged from sensible images.*

Or in the full creation leave a Void,
 Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroy'd:
 From Nature's chain whatever link you strike, 245
 Tenth, or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike.

And if each system in gradation roll,
 Alike essential to th' amazing Whole;
 The least confusion but in one, not all
 That system only, but the whole must fall. 250
 Let Earth unbalanc'd from her orbit fly,
 Planets and Suns run lawless thro' the sky,
 Let ruling Angels from their spheres be hurl'd,
 Being on being wreck'd, and world on world,

NOTES.

VER. 243. *Or in the full creation leave a void, &c.*] This is only an illustrating allusion to the Aristotelian doctrines of *plenum* and *vacuum*; the *full* and *void* here meant, relating not to Matter but to Life.

VER. 247. *And if each system in gradation roll,*] Alluding to the motion of the planetary bodies of each system, and to the figures described by that motion.

VER. 251. *Let Earth unbalanc'd,*] *i. e.* Being no longer kept within its orbit by the different directions of its progressive and attractive motions, which, like equal weights in a balance, keep it in an equilibrium.

VER. 253. *Let ruling Angels, &c.*] The poet, throughout this poem, with great art uses an advantage, which his employing a *Platonic* principle for the foundation of his Essay had afforded him; and that is the expressing himself (as here) in Platonic notions; which, luckily for his purpose, are highly poetical, at the same time that they add a grace to the uniformity of his reasoning.

Heav'n's whole foundations to their centre nod, 255

And Nature tremble to the throne of God :

All this dread ORDER break—for whom? for thee?

Vile worm!—oh Madness, Pride! Impiety!

IX. What if the foot, ordain'd the dust to tread,
Or hand to toil, aspir'd to be the head? 260

What if the head, the eye, or ear repin'd
To serve mere engines to the ruling Mind?

Just as absurd for any part to claim

To be another in this gen'ral frame :

Just as absurd, to mourn the tasks or pains, 265

The great directing MIND of ALL ordains.

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul ;

NOTES.

VER. 259. *What if the foot, &c.*] This fine illustration in defence of the *System of Nature*, is taken from St. Paul, who employed it to defend the *System of Grace*.

VER. 265. *Just as absurd, &c.*] See the prosecution and application of this in Ep. iv.

VER. 266. *The great directing Mind, &c.*] *Veneramur autem & colimus ob dominium. Deus enim sine dominio, providentia, & causis finalibus, nihil aliud est quam FACTUM & NATURA.* Newtoni Princip. Schol. gener. sub finem.

VER. 268. *Whose body Nature is, &c.*] A certain examiner remarks on this line, "A Spinozist would express "himself in this Manner." I believe he would, and so would St. Paul too, writing on the same subject, namely the omnipresence of God in his Providence, and in his Substance. *In him we live and move and have our being ; i. e. we are parts of him, his offspring, as the Greek poet,*

Ep. I. ESSAY ON MAN.

21

That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the same,
Great in the earth, as in th' æthereal frame,

270

NOTES.

a pantheist quoted by the Apostle observes: And the reason is, because a religious theist and an impious pantheist both profess to believe the omnipresence of God. But would Spinoza, as Mr Pope does, call God *the great directing Mind of all*, who hath intentionally created a perfect Universe? Or would a Spinozist have told us,

The workman from the work distinct was known,
a line that overturns all Spinozism from its very foundations.

But this sublime description of the God-head contains not only the divinity of St. Paul; but, if that will not satisfy, the philosophy likewise of Sir Isaac Newton. The poet says,

*All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul,
That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the same,
Great in the earth, as in th' æthereal frame,
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glowes in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent.*

The Philosopher: — *In ipso continentur & moventur universa, sed absque mutua passione. Deus nihil patitur ex corporum motibus; illa nullam sentiunt resistantiam ex omnipræsentia Dei. — Corpore omni & figura corporea destituitur. — Omnia regit & omnia cognoscit. — Cum unaquæque Spatii particula sit semper, & unumquodque Durationis indivisible momentum, ubique, certe rerum omnium Fabricator ac Dominus non erit nunquam, nusquam.*

Mr. Pope:

*Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
As full, as perfect, in a hair, as heart;*

Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glow in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,

NOTES.

*As full, as perfect, in vile Man that mourns,
As the rapt Seraph that adores and burns :
To him no high, no low, no great, no small ;
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.*

Sir Isaac Newton : — *Annon ex phænomenis constat esse entem incorporeum, viventem intelligentem, omnipræsentem, qui in spatio infinito, tanquam sensorio suo, res ipsas intime cernat, penitusque perspiciat, totasque intra se præsens præsentis completatur.*

But now admitting, for argument's sake, that there was an ambiguity in these expressions, so great, as that a Spinozist might employ them to express his own particular principles ; and such a thing might well be, because the Spinozists, in order to hide the impiety of their principle ; are used to express the Omnipresence of God in terms that any religious Theist might employ. In this case, I say, how are we to judge of the poet's meaning ? Surely by the whole tenor of his argument. Now take the words in the sense of the Spinozists, and he is made, in the conclusion of his epistle to overthrow all he has been advancing throughout the body of it : For Spinozism is the destruction of an Universe, where every thing tends, by a foreseen contrivance in all its parts, to the perfection of the whole. But allow him to employ the passage in the sense of St. Paul, *That we and all creatures live and move and have our being in God* ; and then it will be seen to be the most logical support of all that had preceded. For the poet having, as we say, laboured through his epistle to prove, that every thing in the Universe, tends by a foreseen contrivance, and a present direction of all its parts, to the perfection of the whole ; it might be objected, that such a disposition of things implying in God a painful, operose, and inconceivable extent of Providence, it could

Ep. I. ESSAY ON MAN.

23

Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
 Spreads undivided, operates unspent,
 Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part, 275
 As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart;
 As full, as perfect, in vile Man that mourns,
 As the rapt Seraph that adores and burns;
 To him no high, no low, no great, no small;
 He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all. 280

X. Cease then, nor ORDER Imperfection name:
 Our proper bliss depends on what we blame.

NOTES.

not be supposed that such care extended to *all*, but was confined to the more noble parts of the creation. This gross conception of the First Cause the poet exposes, by shewing that God is equally and intimately present to every particle of Matter, to every sort of Substance, and in every instant of Being.

VER. 278. *As the rapt Seraph, &c.*] Alluding to the name *Seraphim*, signifying burners.

VER. 281. *Cease then, nor Order Imperfection name:*] That the reader may see in one view the Exactness of the Method, as well as Force of the Argument, I shall here draw up a short synopsis of this Epistle. The poet begins by telling us his subject is an Essay on Man: That his end of writing is *to vindicate Providence*: That he intends to derive his arguments, *from the visible things of God seen in this system*: Lays down this proposition, *That of all possible systems infinite Wisdom has form'd the best*: draws from thence two consequences, 1. *That there must needs be somewhere such a creature as Man*; 2. *That the moral Evil which he is author of, is productive of the Good of the Whole*. This is his general thesis; from whence he forms this conclusion, *That Man should rest submissive and*

Know thy own point : This kind, this due degree
Of blindness, weakness, Heav'n bestows on thee.

Submit.—In this, or any other sphere, 285
Secure to be as blest as thou canst bear :

NOTES.

content, and make the hopes of Futurity his comfort ; but not suffer this to be the occasion of PRIDE, which is the cause of all his impious complaints.

He proceeds to confirm his thesis. — Previously endeavours to abate our wonder at the phænomenon of *moral Evil* ; shews first, *its use to the Perfection of the Universe*, by Analogy, from the use of *physical Evil* in this particular system.—Secondly, *its use in this system*, where it is turned, providentially, from its natural bias, to promote Virtue. Then goes on to vindicate Providence from the imputation of certain *supposed natural Evils* ; as he had before justified it for the permission of *real moral Evil*, in shewing that, though the atheist's complaint against Providence be on pretence of *real moral Evil*, yet the true cause is his impatience under *imaginary natural Evil* ; the issue of a *depraved appetite for fantastical advantages*, which, if obtained, would be *useless or hurtful* to Man, and deforming or destructive to the Universe, as breaking into that Order by which it is supported.—He describes that *Order, Harmony, and close Connection of the Parts* ; and, by shewing the intimate presence of God to his whole creation, gives a reason for an Universe so amazingly beautiful and perfect. From all this he deduces his general Conclusion, *That Nature being neither a blind chain of Causes and Effects, nor yet the fortuitous result of wandering atoms, but the wonderful Art and Direction of an all-wise, all-good, and free Being ; WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT, with regard to the Disposition of God, and its Ultimate Tendency* ; which once granted, all complaints against Providence are at an end.

Safe in the hand of one disposing Pow'r,
Or in the natal, or the mortal hour.

All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee;
All Chance, Direction, which thou canst not see; 290
All Discord, Harmony, not understood;
All partial Evil, universal Good:
And, spite of Pride, in erring Reason's spite,
One truth is clear, "Whatever is, is RIGHT."

NOTES.

VER. 294. *One truth is clear, Whatever is, is right.*] What are we to understand by *whatever is, is right*? Did the poet mean right with regard to Man, or right with regard to God; right with regard to itself, or right with regard to its ultimate tendency? Surely WITH REGARD TO GOD; for he tells us his design is to *vindicate the ways of God to Man*. Surely with regard to its ULTIMATE TENDENCY; for he tells us again, *all partial ill is universal good*, y 291.



EPISTLE II.

KNOW then thyself, presume not God to scan;
 The proper study of Mankind is Man.
 Plac'd on this isthmus of a middle state,
 A being darkly wise, and rudely great;
 With too much knowledge for the Sceptic side, 5
 With too much weakness for the Stoic's pride,

VARIATIONS.

VER. 2. Ed. 1st.

The only science of Mankind is Man.

NOTES.

VER. 2. *The proper study, &c.*] The poet having shewn, in the first epistle, that the *Ways of God* are too high for our comprehension, rightly draws this conclusion; and methodically makes it the subject of his Introduction to the second, which treats of the *Nature of Man*.

VER. 3. *Plac'd on this isthmus, &c.*] As the poet hath given us this description of man for the very contrary purpose to which *Sceptics* are wont to employ such kind of paintings, namely not to deter men from the *search*, but to excite them to the *discovery* of truth; he hath, with great judgment represented Man as doubting and wavering between the *right* and *wrong* object; from which state there are great hopes he may be relieved by a careful and circumspect use of Reason. On the contrary, had he supposed Man so blind as to be busied in chusing, or doubtful in his choice, between two objects *equally wrong*, the case had appeared desperate, and all *study of Man* had been effectually discouraged.

Ep. II. ESSAY ON MAN.

27

He hangs between ; in doubt to act, or rest,

In doubt to deem himself a God, or Beast;

In doubt his Mind or Body to prefer,

Born but to die, and reas'ning but to err; 10

Alike in ignorance, his reason such,

Whether he thinks too little, or too much:

Chaos of Thought and Passion, all confus'd ;

Still by himself abus'd, or disabus'd ;

Created half to rise, and half to fall ; 15

Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all ;

Sole judge of Truth, in endless Error hurl'd :

The glory, jest, and riddle of the world !

Go, wond'rous creature ! mount where Science
guides,

Go, measure earth, weigh air, and state the tides ; 20

NOTES.

VER. 10. *Born but to die, &c.*] The author's meaning is, that, as we are *born to die*, and yet enjoy some small portion of life ; so, though we *reason to err*, yet we comprehend some few truths. This is the weak state of Reason, in which Error mixes itself with all its true conclusions concerning Man's Nature.

VER. 11. *Alike in ignorance, &c.*] *i. e.* The proper sphere of his Reason is so narrow, and the exercise of it so nice, that the too immoderate use of it is attended with the same ignorance that proceeds from the not using it at all. Yet, tho' in both these cases, he is *abused by himself*, he has it still in his own power to *disabuse himself*, in making his Passions subservient to the *means*, and regulating his Reason by the *end* of Life.

VER. 20. *Go measure earth, &c.*] Alluding to the noble and useful project of the modern Mathematicians, to

Instruct the planets in what orbs to run,
 Correct old Time, and regulate the Sun;
 Go, soar with Plato to th' empyreal sphere,
 To the first good, first perfect, and first fair,
 Or tread the mazy round his follow'rs trod, 25
 And quitting sense call imitating God;
 As Eastern Priests in giddy circles run,
 And turn their heads to imitate the Sun.
 Go, teach Eternal Wisdom how to rule—
 Then drop into thyself, and be a fool! 30

VARIATIONS.

VER. 21. Ed. 4th and 5th.

Show by what rules the wand'ring planets stray,
 Correct old Time, and teach the Sun his way.

NOTES.

measure a degree at the equator and the polar circle, in order to determine the true figure of the earth; of great importance to astronomy and navigation.

VER. 22. *Correct old Time,*] This alludes to Sir Isaac Newton's Grecian Chronology, which he reformed on those two sublime conceptions, the *difference between the reigns of kings, and the generations of men*; and the *position of the colures of the equinoxes and solstices at the time of the Argonautic expedition*.

VER. 29, 30. *Go, teach Eternal Wisdom, &c.*] These two lines are a conclusion from all that had been said from y 18, to this effect: Go now, vain Man, elated with thy acquirements in *real science*, and *imaginary intimacy* with God; go, and run into all the extravagancies I have exploded in the first epistle, where thou pretendest to teach Providence how to govern; then drop into the obscurities of thy own nature, and thereby manifest thy ignorance and folly.

Superior beings, when of late they saw
A mortal Man unfold all Nature's law,

NOTES.

VER. 31. *Superior beings, &c.*] In these lines he speaks to this effect: But to make you fully sensible of the difficulty of this study, I shall instance in the great Newton himself; whom, when superior beings, not long since, saw capable of unfolding the whole law of Nature, they were in doubt whether the owner of such prodigious science should not be reckoned of their order; just as men, when they see the surprising marks of Reason in an Ape, are almost tempted to rank him with their own kind. And yet this wondrous Man could go no further in the knowledge of himself than the generality of his species. In which we see it was not Mr Pope's intention to bring any of the Ape's *qualities*, but its *sagacity*, into the comparison. But why the *Ape's*, it may be said, rather than the sagacity of some more decent animal, particularly the *half-reasoning elephant*, as the poet calls it; which, as well on account of this its superiority, as for its having no ridiculous side, like the Ape, on which it could be viewed, seems better to have deserved this honour? I reply, because as none but a shape *resembling human*, accompanied with great sagacity, could occasion the *doubt* of that animal's relation to Man, the Ape only having that resemblance, no other animal was fitted for the comparison. And on this ground of relation the whole beauty of the thought depends; Newton and those superior spirits being equally immortal, though of different orders. And here let me take notice of a new species of the Sublime, of which our poet may be justly said to be the maker; so new, that we have yet no name for it, though of a nature distinct from every other poetical beauty. The two great perfections of works of genius are WIT and SUBLIMITY. Many writers have been *witty*, several have been *sublime*, and some few have even possessed both these qualities se-

Admir'd such Wisdom in an earthly shape,
And shew'd a NEWTON as we shew an Ape.

Could he whose rules the rapid Comet bind, 35
Describe or fix one movement of his Mind?
Who saw its fires here rise, and there descend,
Explain his own beginning, or his end?
Alas what wonder! Man's superior part
Uncheck'd may rise, and climb from art to art: 40

VARIATIONS.

VER. 35. Ed. 1st.

Could he, who taught each Planet where to roll,
Describe or fix one movement of the Soul?
Who mark'd their points to rise or to descend,
Explain his own beginning or his end?

NOTES.

parated; but none that I know of, besides our poet, hath had the art to incorporate them; of which he hath given many examples, both in this *Essay* and his other poems; one of the noblest being the passage in question. This seems to be the last effort of the imagination, to poetical perfection. And in this compounded excellence the Wit receives a dignity from the Sublime, and the Sublime a splendor from the Wit, which in their state of separate existence they both wanted.

VER. 37. *Who saw its fires here rise, &c.*] Sir Isaac Newton, in calculating the velocity of a Comet's motion, and the course it describes, when it becomes visible in its descent to, and ascent from the Sun, conjectured, with the highest appearance of truth, that Comets revolve perpetually round the Sun, in ellipses vastly excentrical, and very nearly approaching to parabolas. In which he was greatly confirmed, in observing between two Comets a coincidence in their perihelions, and a perfect agreement in their velocities.

Ep. II. ESSAY ON MAN.

31

But when his own great work is but begun,
What Reason weaves, by Passion is undone.

Trace Science then, with Modesty thy guide;
First strip off all her equipage of Pride,
Deduct what is but Vanity, or Dress,
Or Learning's Luxury, or Idleness;
Or tricks to shew the stretch of human brain,
Mere curious pleasure, or ingenious pain :

45

NOTES.

VER. 45. — *Vanity or dress,*] These are the first parts of what the Poet, in the preceding line, calls the Scholar's *equipage of Pride*. By *vanity*, is meant that luxuriancy of thought and expression in which a writer indulges himself, to shew the fruitfulness of his fancy or invention. By *dress*, is to be understood a lower degree of that practice, in amplification of thought and ornamented expression, to give force to what the writer would convey : but even this, the poet in a severe search after truth, condemns ; and with great judgment. Conciseness of thought and simplicity of expression, being as well the best *instruments*, as the best *vehicles* of Truth. *Shakespeare* touches upon this latter advantage with great force and humour. The Flatterer says to *Timon* in distress, " I cannot cover the " monstrous bulk of their ingratitude with any *size of* " words." The other replies, " Let it go *naked*, men " may see't the better."

VER. 46. *Or Learning's Luxury, or Idleness;*] The *Luxury of Learning* consists in dressing up and disguising old notions in a new way, so as to make them more fashionable and palatable; instead of examining and scrutinizing their truth. As this is often done for pomp and shew, it is called *luxury*; as it is often done too to save pains and labour, it is called *idleness*.

VER. 47. *Or tricks to shew the stretch of human brain,*]

Expunge the whole, or lop th' excrescent parts
 Of all, our Vices have created Arts: 50
 Then see how little the remaining sum,
 Which serv'd the past, and must the times to come!

II. Two Principles in human nature reign;
 Self-love, to urge, and Reason, to restrain;
 Nor this a good, nor that a bad we call, 55
 Each works its end, to move or govern all:
 And to their proper operation still,
 Ascribe all Good; to their improper, Ill.

Self-love, the spring of motion, acts the soul;
 Reason's comparing balance rules the whole. 60
 Man, but for that, no action could attend,
 And, but for this, were active to no end;
 Fix'd like a plant on his peculiar spot,
 To draw nutrition, propagate, and rot;
 Or, meteor like, flame lawless thro' the void, 65
 Destroying others, by himself destroy'd.

Most strength the moving principle requires;
 Active its task, it prompts, impels, inspires.

NOTES.

Such as the mathematical demonstrations concerning the *small quantity of matter*; the *endless divisibility* of it, &c.

VER. 48. *Mere curious pleasure, or ingenious pain*;] That is, when *Admiration* sets the mind on the rack.

VER. 49. *Expunge the whole, or lop th' excrescent parts Of all our vices have created Arts*;] i. e. Those parts of natural Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric, Poetry, &c. that administer to luxury, deceit, ambition, effeminacy, &c.

Ep. II. ESSAY ON MAN. 33

Sedate and quiet the comparing lies,
 Form'd but to check, delib'rate, and advise. 70
 Self-love still stronger, as its objects nigh;
 Reason's at distance, and in prospect lie:
 That sees immediate good by present sense;
 Reason, the future and the consequence.
 Thicker than arguments, temptations throng, 75
 At best more watchful this, but that more strong.
 The action of the stronger to suspend
 Reason still use, to Reason still attend:
 Attention, habit and experience gains,
 Each strengthens Reason, and Self-love restrains. 80
 Let subtle schoolmen teach these friends to fight,
 More studious to divide than to unite,

NOTES.

VER. 74. *Reason, the future and the consequence.*] i. e. By experience Reason collects the future; and by argumentation, the consequence.

VER. 81. *Let subtle schoolmen, &c.*] This observation on the folly of the Schoolmen, who consider *reason* and the *Passions* as two opposite Principles, the one *good* and the other *evil*, is seasonable and judicious, as this folly supports the Manichean or Zoroastrian error, the confutation of which was one of the author's chief ends of writing. For if there be *two principles* in Man, a *good* and *bad*, it is natural to think him the joint product of the two Manichean deities (the first of which contributed to his *Reason*, the other to his *Passions*) rather than the creature of one Individual Cause. This was Plutarch's notion, and as we may see in him, of the more ancient Manicheans. It was of importance, therefore, to repre-

And Grace and Virtue, Sense and Reason split,
 With all the rash dexterity of Wit.
 Wits, just like fools, at war about a Name, 85
 Have full as oft no meaning, or the same.
 Self-love and Reason to one end aspire,
 Pain their aversion, Pleasure their desire;
 But greedy that its object would devour,
 This taste the honey, and not wound the flow'r: 90
 Pleasure, or wrong or rightly understood,
 Our greatest evil, or our greatest good.

III. Modes of Self-love the Passions we may call:

'Tis real good, or seeming, moves them all;
 But since not every good we can divide, 95
 And Reason bids us for our own provide;
 Passions, tho' selfish, if their means be fair,
 Lift under Reason, and deserve her care;
 Those, that imparted court a nobler aim,
 Exalt their kind, and take some virtue's name. 100

In lazy Apathy let Stoics boast
 Their Virtue fix'd; 'tis fix'd as in a frost,
 Contracted all, retiring to the breast;
 But strength of mind is Exercise, not Rest:
 The rising tempest puts in act the soul, 105
 Parts it may ravage, but preserves the whole.
 On life's vast ocean diversely we sail,
 Reason the card, but Passion is the gale;

NOTES.

bate and subvert a notion that served to countenance so dangerous an error.

Ep. II. ESSAY ON MAN. 35

Nor God alone in the still calm we find,
 He mounts the storm, and walks upon the wind. 110
 Passions, like Elements, tho' born to fight,
 Yet, mix'd and soften'd, in his work unite:
 These 'tis enough to temper and employ;
 But what composes Man, can Man destroy?
 Suffice that Reason keep to Nature's road, 115
 Subject, compound them, follow her and God.
 Love, Hope, and Joy, fair Pleasure's smiling train,
 Hate, Fear, and Grief, the family of Pain;
 These mix'd with art, and to due bounds confin'd,
 Make and maintain the balance of the mind: 120
 The lights and shades, whose well accorded strife
 Gives all the strength and colour of our life.

NOTES.

VER. 109. *Nor God alone, &c.*] These words are only a simple affirmation in the poetic dress of a similitude, to this purpose: Good is not only produced by the subdual of the Passions, but by the turbulent exercise of them. A truth conveyed under the most sublime imagery that poetry could conceive or paint. For the author is here only shewing the providential issue of the Passions, and how, by God's gracious disposition, they are turned away from their natural biases, to promote the happiness of Mankind. As to the method in which they are to be treated by Man, in whom they are found, all that he contends for, in favour of them, is only this, that they should not be quite rooted up and destroyed, as the Stoics, and their followers in all religions, foolishly attempted. For the rest, he constantly repeats this advice:

The action of the stronger to suspend
 Reason still use, to Reason still attend.

Pleasures are ever in our hands or eyes,
 And when in act they cease, in prospect rise ;
 Present to grasp, and future still to find, 125
 The whole employ of body and of mind.
 All spread their charms, but charm not all alike ;
 On diff'rent senses diff'rent objects strike ;
 Hence diff'rent Passions more or less inflame,
 As strong or weak, the organs of the frame ; 130

NOTES.

VER. 127. *All spread their charms, &c.*] Though all the Passions have their turn in swaying the determinations of the mind, yet every Man has one MASTER PASSION that at length stifles or absorbs all the rest. This fact is illustrated at large in the epistle to Lord Cobham. Here the Poet gives us the cause of it. Those Pleasures or Goods, which are the objects of the Passions, affect the mind by striking on the senses ; but, as, through the formation of the organs of the human frame, every man has some one sense stronger and more acute than others, the object which strikes that stronger or acuter sense, whatever it be, will be the object most desired ; and, consequently, the pursuit of that will be the *ruling Passion*. That the difference of force in this ruling Passion shall, at first, perhaps, be very small or even imperceptible ; but Nature, Habit, Imagination, Wit, nay even Reason itself shall assist its growth, 'till it hath at length drawn and converted every other into itself. All which is delivered in a strain of Poetry so wonderfully sublime, as suspends for a while the *ruling Passion* in every reader, and engrosses his whole admiration.

This naturally leads the poet to lament the weakness and insufficiency of human Reason ; and the purpose he had in so doing, was plainly to intimate the necessity of a more sublime dispensation to Mankind.

Ep. II. ESSAY ON MAN.

37

And hence one master Passion in the breast,
Like Aaron's Serpent, swallows up the rest.

As Man, perhaps, the moment of his breath,
Receives the lurking principle of death ;
The young disease, that must subdue at length, 135
Grows with his growth, and strengthens with his
strength:

So, cast and mingled with his very frame,
The Mind's disease, its ruling Passion came ;
Each vital humour which should feed the whole,
Soon flows to this, in body and in soul. 140

Whatever warms the heart, or fills the head,
As the mind opens, and its functions spread,
Imagination plies her dang'rous art,
And pours it all upon the pecant part.

Nature its mother, Habit is its nurse ; 145
Wit, Spirit, Faculties, but make it worse ;
Reason itself but gives it edge and pow'r ;
As Heav'n's blest beam turns vinegar more sow'r ;

NOTES.

VER. 133. *As Man perhaps, &c.*] *Antipater Sidonius Poëta omnibus annis uno die natali tantum corripiebatur febre, et eo consumptus est satis longa senectâ.* Plin. l. vii. N. H. This *Antipater* was in the times of Crassus, and is celebrated for the quickness of his parts by Cicero.

VER. 147. *Reason itself, &c.*] The poet, in some other of his epistles, gives examples of the doctrine and precepts here delivered. Thus, in that *Of the use of Riches*, he has illustrated this truth in the character of Cotta :

We wretched subjects tho' to lawful sway,
 In this weak queen, some fav'rite still obey. 150
 Ah! if she lend not arms, as well as rules,
 What can she more than tell us we are fools?
 Teach us to mourn our Nature, not to mend,
 A sharp accuser, but a helpless friend!
 Or from a judge turn pleader, to persuade 155
 The choice we make, or justify it made;
 Proud of an easy conquest all along,
 She but removes weak passions for the strong:
 So, when small humours gather to a gout,
 The doctor fancies he has driv'n them out. 160
 Yes, Nature's road must ever be preferr'd;
 Reason is here no guide, but still a guard:
 'Tis hers to rectify, not overthrow,
 And treat this passion more as friend than foe:

NOTES.

Old Cotta sham'd his fortune and his birth,
 Yet was not Cotta void of wit or worth.
 What tho' (the use of barb'rous spits forgot)
 His kitchen vied in coolness with his grot?
 If Cotta liv'd on pulse, it was no more
 Than bramins, saints, and sages did before.

VER. 149. *We wretched subjects, &c.*] St. Paul himself, did not chuse to employ other arguments, when disposed to give us the highest idea of the usefulness of Christianity (*Rom. vii.*) But it may be the poet finds a remedy in Natural Religion? Far from it. He here leaves Reason unrelieved. What is this then, but an intimation that we ought to seek for a cure in that religion, which only dares profess to give it?

VER. 163. *'Tis her's to rectify, &c.*] The meaning of

Ep. II. ESSAY ON MAN. 39

A mightier Pow'r the strong direction sends, 165
 And sev'ral Men impels to sev'ral ends.
 Like varying winds, by other passions tost,
 This drives them constant to a certain coast.
 Let pow'r or knowledge, gold or glory please,
 Or (oft more strong than all) the love of ease; 170
 Thro' life 'tis follow'd, ev'n at life's expence;
 The merchant's toil, the sage's indolence,
 The monk's humility, the hero's pride,
 All, all alike, find Reason on their side.

NOTES.

this precept is, That as the ruling Passion is implanted by Nature, it is Reason's office to regulate, direct, and restrain, but not to overthrow it. To regulate the passion of Avarice, for instance, into a parsimonious dispensation of the public revenues; to direct the passion of Love, whose object is worth and beauty.

To the first good, first perfect, and first fair;

τὸ καλὸν τ' ἀγαθόν, as his master Plato advises; and to restrain Spleen to a contempt and hatred of Vice. This is what the poet meant, and what every unprejudiced man could not but see he must needs mean, by RECTIFYING THE MASTER PASSION, though he had not confined us to this sense, in the reason he gives of his precept, in these words:

A mightier Pow'r the strong direction sends,
 And sev'ral Men impels to sev'ral ends.

For what ends are they which God impels to, but the ends of Virtue?

Th' Eternal Art educing good from ill, 175
 Grafts on this Passion our best principle :
 'Tis thus the Mercury of Man is fix'd,
 Strong grows the Virtue with his nature mix'd;
 The dross cements what else were too refin'd,
 And in one interest body acts with mind. 180

As fruits ungrateful to the planter's care
 On savage stocks inserted learn to bear ;
 The surest Virtues thus from Passions shoot,
 Wild Nature's vigor working at the root.
 What crops of wit and honesty appear 185
 From spleen, from obstinacy, hate, or fear !
 See anger, zeal and fortitude supply ;
 Ev'n avarice, prudence ; sloth, philosophy ;
 Lust, thro' some certain strainers well refin'd,
 Is gentle love, and charms all womankind : 190
 Envy, to which th' ignoble mind's a slave,
 Is emulation in the learn'd or brave :

NOTES.

VER. 175. *Th' Eternal Art, &c.*] The Author has, throughout these Epistles, explained his Meaning to be, that Vice is, in its own nature, the greatest of evils ; and produced thro' the abuse of Man's free will,

What makes all physical and moral ill ?

There deviates Nature, and here wanders will :

but that God in his infinite goodness, deviously turns the natural bias of its malignity to the Advancement of human happiness. A doctrine very different from the Fable of the Bees, which impiously and foolishly supposes it to have that natural tendency.

Ep. II. ESSAY ON MAN.

41

Nor Virtue, male, or female, can we name,
But what will grow on Pride, or grow on Shame.

Thus Nature gives us (let it check our pride) 195

The virtue nearest to our vice ally'd;
Reason the byass turns to good from ill,
A Nero reigns a Titus, if he will.

The fiery soul abhor'd in Catiline,
In Decius charms, in Curtius is divine. 200

The same ambition can destroy or save,
And makes a patriot as it makes a knave.

This light and darkness in our chaos join'd,
What shall divide? The God within the mind.

NOTES.

VER. 197. *Reason the byass, &c.*] Lest it should be objected that this account favours the doctrine of Necessity, and would insinuate that Men are only acted upon, in the production of Good out of Evil; the poet here teacheth that Man is a free agent, and hath it in his own power to turn the natural passions into Virtues or into Vices, properly so called:

Reason the byass turns to good from ill,
And Nero reigns a Titus, if he will.

VER. 203. *This light, &c.*] A Platonic phrase for Conscience; and here employed with great judgment and propriety. For Conscience either signifies, *speculatively*, the judgement we pass of things upon whatever principles we chance to have; and then it is only OPINION, a very unable judge and divider. Or else it signifies, *practically*, the application of the eternal rule of right (received by us as the law of God) to the regulation of our actions; and then it is properly CONSCIENCE, *the God* (or the law of God *within the mind*, of power to divide the light from the darkness, in this chaos of the passions.

Extremes in Nature equal ends produce, 205
 In Man they join to some mysterious use;
 Tho' each by turns the other's bound invade,
 As, in some well-wrought picture, light and shade,
 And oft so mix, the diff'rence is too nice
 Where ends the Virtue, or begins the Vice. 210

Fools! who from hence into the notion fall,
 That Vice or Virtue there is none at all.
 If white and black blend, soften, and unite
 A thousand ways, is there no black or white?
 Ask your own heart, and nothing is so plain; 215
 'Tis to mistake them, costs the time and pain.

Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
 As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
 Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
 We first endure, then pity, then embrace. 220

VARIATIONS.

After y 220. in the 1st Ed. followed these,
 A Cheat! a Whore! who starts not at the name,
 In all the Inns of Court or Drury-lane?

NOTES.

VER. 205. *Extremes in Nature equal ends produce,*] The poet here reasons to this effect, Though indeed Vice and Virtue so invade each other's bounds, that sometimes we can scarce tell where one ends and the other begins, yet great purposes are served thereby, no less than the perfecting the constitution of the whole, as lights and shades, which run into one another in a well-wrought picture, make the harmony and spirit of the composition. But on this account to say there is neither Vice nor Virtue, the poet shews would be just as wise as to say

Ep. II. ESSAY ON MAN. 43

But where th' Extreme of Vice, was ne'er agreed :
Ask where's the North? at York, 'tis on the Tweed;
In Scotland, at the Orcades; and there,
At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where:
No creature owns it in the first degree, 225
But thinks his neighbour further gone than he.
Ev'n those who dwell beneath its very zone,
Or never feel the rage, or never own ;
What happier natures shrink at with afright,
The hard inhabitant contends is right. 230

Virtuous and vicious ev'ry Man must be,
Few in th' extreme, but all in the degree ;
The rogue and fool by fits is fair and wise,
And ev'n the best, by fits, what they despise.
'Tis but by parts, we follow good or ill, 235
For, Vice or Virtue, Self directs it still ;
Each individual seeks a sev'ral goal ;
But HEAVEN's great view is One, and that the Whole :
That counter-works each folly and caprice ;
That disappoints th' effect of ev'ry vice : 240
That happy frailties to all ranks apply'd,
Shame to the virgin, to the matron pride,
Fear to the statesman, rashness to the chief,
To kings presumption, and to crowds belief.

NOTES.

there is neither black nor white ; because the shade of that
and the light of this often run into one another :

Ask your own heart, and nothing is so plain ;
'Tis to mistake them costs the time and pain.

That Virtue's ends from Vanity can raise, 245
 Which seeks no int'rest, no reward but praise;
 And build on wants, and on defects of mind,
 The joy, the peace, the glory of Mankind.
 Heav'n forming each on other to depend,
 A master, or a servant, or a friend, 250
 Bids each on other for assistance call,
 'Till one Man's weakness grows the strength of all.
 Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally
 The common int'rest, or endear the tie :

NOTES.

VER. 249. *Heav'n forming each on other to depend,* }
 Hitherto the poet hath been employed in discoursing of
 the use of the Passions, with regard to Society at large ;
 and in freeing his doctrine from objections : This is the
 first general division of the subject of this epistle.

He comes now to shew the use of these Passions, with
 regard to the more confined circle of our Friends, Rela-
 tions, and Acquaintance : And this is the second general
 division.

VER. 253. *Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally*
The common int'rest, &c.] As these lines have been mis-
 understood, I shall give the reader their plain and obvi-
 ous meaning. To these frailties (says he) we owe all the
 endearments of private life, yet, when we come to that
 age, which generally disposes Men to think more seriously
 of the true value of things, and consequently of their provi-
 sion for a future state; the consideration, that the grounds
 of those joys, loves, and friendships, are wants, frailties,
 and passions, proves the best expedient to wean us from
 the *world*; a disengagement so friendly to that provision
 we are now making for *another*. The observation is
 new, and would in any place be extremely beautiful, but
 has here an infinite grace and propriety, as it so well con-

Ep. II. ESSAY ON MAN. 45

To these we owe true friendship, love sincere, 255
Each home-felt joy that life inherits here :
Yet from the same we learn, in its decline,
Those joys, those loves, those int'rests to resign :
Taught half by Reason, half by mere decay,
To welcome death, and calmly pass away. 260

Whate'er the Passion, knowledge, fame, or pelf,
Not one will change his neighbour with himself.

NOTES.

firms, by an instance of great moment, the general thesis,
That God makes ill, at every step productive of Good.

VER. 261. *Whate'er the Passion, &c.*] The poet having thus shewn the use of the Passions in Society and in Domestic life ; he comes, in the last place to shew their use to the Individual, even in their illusions ; the imaginary happiness they present helping to make the real miseries of life less insupportable : And this is his third general division :

—Opinion gilds with varying rays
Those painted clouds that beautify our days, &c.
One prospect lost, another still we gain ;
And not a vanity is giv'n in vain.

Which must needs vastly raise our idea of God's goodness, who hath not only provided more than a counter-balance of real happiness to human miseries, but hath even, in his infinite compassion, bestowed on those, who were so foolish as not to have made this provision, an imaginary happiness ; that they may not be over-borne with the load of human miseries. This is the poet's great and noble thought, as strong and solid as it is new and ingenious ; which teaches, “ That these illusions are the follies of Men, which they wilfully fall into. and through their own fault ; thereby depriving themselves of much happiness, and exposing themselves to equal misery : But that still God (accord-

The learn'd is happy nature to explore,
 The fool is happy that he knows no more ;
 The rich is happy in the plenty giv'n, 265
 The poor contents him with the care of Heav'n.
 See the blind beggar dance, the cripple sing,
 The sot a hero, lunatic a king ;
 The starving chemist in his golden views
 Supremely blest, the poet in his muse. 270
 See some strange comfort ev'ry state attend,
 And Pride bestow'd on all, a common friend ;
 See some fit Passion ev'ry age supply,
 Hope travels thro', nor quits us when we die.

NOTES.

“ ing to his universal way of working) graciously turns
 “ these follies so far to the advantage of his miserable
 “ creatures, as to be the present solace and support of
 “ their distresses :”

— Tho' Man's a fool, yet God is wise.

VER. 270. — *the poet in his muse.*] The author having said, that no one would change his profession or views for those of another, intended to carry his observation still further, and shew that Men were unwilling to exchange their own acquirements even for those of the same kind, confessedly larger, and infinitely more eminent, in another. To this end he wrote,

What partly pleases, totally will shock :
 I question much, if Toland would be Locke.

But wanting another proper instance of this truth when he published his last Edition of the Essay, he reserved the lines above for some following one.

Ep. II. ESSAY ON MAN. 47

Behold the child, by Nature's kindly law, 275
Pleas'd with a rattle, tickled with a straw :
Some livelier play-thing gives his youth delight,
A little louder, but as empty quite :
Scarfs, garters, gold, amuse his riper stage ;
And beads and pray'r-books are the toys of age : 280
Pleas'd with this bauble still, as that before ;
'Till tir'd he sleeps, and Life's poor play is o'er !
Mean-while Opinion gilds with varying rays
Those painted clouds that beautify our days ;
Each want of happiness by Hope supply'd, 285
And each vacuity of sense by Pride :
These build as fast as knowledge can destroy ;
In folly's cup still laughs the bubble, joy ;
One prospect lost, another still we gain ;
And not a vanity is giv'n in vain ; 290
Ev'n mean Self-love becomes, by force divine,
The scale to measure others wants by thine.
See! and confess, one comfort still must rise,
'Tis this, Tho' Man's a fool, yet GOD IS WISE.

NOTES.

VER. 280. *And beads, &c.*] A Satire on what the Papists call the *opus operatum*. As this is a description of the circle of human life returning into itself by a second childhood, the poet has, with great elegance concluded his description with the same figure with which he set out.

VER. 292. *The scale, &c.*] See further of the use of this principle in man, Ep. III. * 121, 124, 134, 144, 199, &c. 269, &c. and Ep. IV. * 356, 366.

EPISTLE III.

HERE then we rest: "The Universal Cause
"Acts to one end, but acts by various laws."

VARIATIONS.

VER. I. in several Edit. 4to.

Learn, Dulness, learn! "The Universal Cause, &c.

NOTES.

Ep. III.] We are now come to the third epistle, of the Essay on Man. It having been shewn, in explaining the origin, use, and end of the Passions, in the second epistle, that Man has social as well as selfish passions, that doctrine naturally introduceth the third, which treats of Man as a SOCIAL animal; and connects it with the second, which considereth him as an INDIVIDUAL. And as the conclusion from the subject of the first epistle made the introduction to the second, so here again, the conclusion of the second

(Ev'n mean Self-love becomes, by force divine,
The scale to measure others wants by thine,)

makes the introduction to the third.

VER. I.

Here then we rest: "The Universal Cause
"Acts to one end, but acts by various laws."]

Ep. III. E S S A Y O N M A N. 49

In all the madness of superfluous health,
The trim of pride, the impudence of wealth,

NOTES.

The reason of *variety* in those laws, which tend to one and the same end, the good of the Whole *generally*, is, because the good of the individual is likewise to be provided for; both which together make up the good of the Whole *universally*. And this is the cause, as the poet says, elsewhere, that

Each individual seeks a sev'ral goal.

But to prevent their resting there, God has made each need the assistance of another; and so

On mutual wants built mutual happiness.

It was necessary to explain these two first lines, the better to see the pertinency and force of what follows, where the poet warns such to take notice of this truth, whose circumstances placing them in an imaginary station of Independence, and a real one of Insensibility to mutual Wants (from whence general Happiness results) make them but too apt to overlook the true system of things; *viz.* Men in full *health* and *opulence*. This caution was necessary with regard to Society; but still more necessary with regard to Religion: Therefore he especially recommends the memory of it both to Clergy and Laity, when they preach or pray; because the preacher who does not consider the first Cause under this view, as a Being consulting the good of the whole, must needs give a very unworthy idea of him; and the suppliant, who prayeth as one not related to a whole, or as disregarding the happiness of it, will not only pray in vain, but offend his Maker by an impious attempt to counter-work his dispensation.

VER. 3. — *superfluous health,*] Immoderate labour and study are the great impairers of health: Those, whose

Let this great truth be present night and day ; 5
But most be present, if we preach or pray.

Look round our World ; behold the chain of Love
Combining all below and all above.

See plastic Nature working to this end,
The single atoms each to other tend, 10

Attract, attracted to, the next in place
Form'd and impell'd its neighbour to embrace.

See Matter next, with various life endu'd,
Press to one centre still, the gen'ral Good.

See dying vegetables life sustain, 15
See life dissolving vegetate again :

All forms that perish other forms supply,
(By turns we catch the vital breath and die)

Like bubbles on the sea of Matter born,
They rise, they break, and to that sea return. 20

NOTES.

station sets them above both, must needs have an affluence of health, which not being used, but abused and ruined by Luxury, the poet properly calls a *superfluity*.

VER. 4. — *impudence of wealth,*] Because *wealth* pretends to be wisdom, wit, learning, honesty, and in short, all the virtues in their turns.

VER. 12. *Form'd, and impell'd, &c.*] To make Matter so cohere as to fit it for the uses intended by its Creator, a proper *configuration* of its insensible parts is as necessary as that quality so equally and universally conferred upon it, called *Attraction*. To express the first part of this thought our Author says *form'd* ; and to express the latter, *impell'd*.

Ep. III. ESSAY ON MAN. 51

Nothing is foreign : Parts relate to whole ;
 One all-extending, all-preserving Soul
 Connects each being, greatest with the least ;
 Made Beast in aid of Man, and Man of Beast ;
 All serv'd, all serving ! nothing stands alone ; 25
 The chain holds on, and where it ends, unknown.

Has God, thou fool ! work'd solely for thy good,
 Thy joy, thy pastime, thy attire, thy food ?
 Who for thy table feeds the wanton fawn,
 For him as kindly spread the flow'ry lawn. 30
 Is it for thee the lark ascends and sings ?
 Joy tunes his voice, joy elevates his wings :
 Is it for thee the linnet pours his throat ?
 Loves of his own and raptures swell the note :
 The bounding steed you pompously bestride, 35
 Shares with his lord the pleasure and the pride :
 Is thine alone the seed that strews the plain ?
 The birds of heav'n shall vindicate their grain :

NOTES.

VER. 22. *One all extending, all-preserving Soul*] Which in the language of Sir Is. Newton, is, *Deus omnipræsens est, non per virtutem solam, sed etiam per substantiam: nam virtus sine substantia subsistere non potest.* Newt. Princ. schol. gen. sub fin.

VER. 23. *Greatest with the least;*] As acting more strongly and immediately in beasts, whose instinct is plainly an external reason ; which made an old schoolman say, with great elegance, *Deus est anima brutorum :*

In this 'tis God directs——

Thine the full harvest of the golden year ?

Part pays, and justly, the deserving steer :

40

The hog, that plows not nor obeys thy call,

Lives on the labours of this lord of all.

Know, Nature's children all divide her care ;

The fur that warms a monarch, warm'd a bear.

While Man exclaims, " See all things for my use !" 45

" See man for mine !" replies a pamper'd goose ;

And just as short of Reason he must fall,

Who thinks all made for one, not one for all.

Grant that the pow'rful still the weak controul,

Be Man the Wit and Tyrant of the whole :

50

VARIATIONS.

After γ 46. in the former Editions,

What care to tend, to lodge, to cram, to treat him !

All this he knew ; but not that 'twas to eat him.

As far as goose could judge, he reason'd right ;

But as to Man mistook the matter quite.

NOTES.

VER. 45. "*See all things for my use !*"] On the contrary the wise man hath said, " The Lord hath made all " things for himself." *Prov.* xvi. 4.

VER. 49. *Grant that the pow'rful, &c.*] I grant indeed, says the Poet, that Man affects to be the Wit and Tyrant of the whole, and would fain shake off

— that chain of love,

Combining all below and all above :

But Nature, even by the very gift of Reason, checks this tyrant. For Reason endowing Man with the ability of setting together the memory of the past, and conjecturing about the future ; and past misfortunes making him ap-

Ep. III. ESSAY ON MAN.

53

Nature that Tyrant checks; he only knows,
And helps, another creature's wants and woes.
Say, will the falcon, stooping from above,
Smit with her varying plumage, spare the dove?
Admires the jay the insect's gilded wings? 55
Or hears the hawk when Philomela sings?
Man cares for all: to birds he gives his woods,
To beasts his pastures, and to fish his floods;

NOTES.

prehenſive of more to come, this diſpoſes him to pity and relieve others in a ſtate of ſuffering. And the paſſion growing habitual, naturally extendeth its effects to all that have a ſenſe of ſuffering. Now as brutes have neither Man's Reaſon, nor his inordinate Self-love, to draw them from the ſyſtem of Benevolence, ſo they wanted not, and therefore have not, this human ſympathy of another's miſery. By which paſſion we ſee thoſe qualities in Man, balance one another, and ſo retain him in that general Order, in which Providence has placed its whole creation. But this is not all; Man's intereſt, amuſement, vanity, and luxury, tie him ſtill cloſer to the ſyſtem of benevolence, by obliging him to provide for the ſupport of other animals; and though it be, for the moſt part, only to devour them with the greater guſt, yet this does not abate the proper happineſs of the animals ſo preſerved, to whom Providence has not given the uſeleſs knowledge of their end.

VER. 50. *Be Man the Wit and Tyrant of the whole:]*
Alluding to the witty ſyſtem of that Philoſopher which made animals mere machines, inſenſible of pain and pleaſure, and ſo encouraged man in the exerciſe of that Tyranny over his fellow creatures conſequent on ſuch a principle.

For some his Int'rest prompts him to provide,
For more his pleasure, yet for more his pride: 60

All feed on one vain Patron and enjoy

Th' extensive blessing of his luxury.

That very life his learned hunger craves,

He saves from famine, from the savage saves;

Nay, feasts the animal he dooms his feast, 65

And, 'till he ends the being, makes it blest;

Which sees no more the stroke, or feels the pain,

Than favour'd Man by touch ætherial slain.

The creature had his feast of life before;

Thou too must perish, when thy feast is o'er! 70

To each unthinking being, Heav'n a friend,

Gives not the useless knowledge of its end:

To Man imparts it; but with such a view

As, while he dreads it, makes him hope it too:

The hour conceal'd, and so remote the fear, 75

Death still draws nearer, never seeming near.

Great standing miracle! that Heav'n assign'd

Its only thinking thing this turn of mind.

II. Whether with Reason, or with Instinct blest,

Know, all enjoy that pow'r which suits them best; 80

To bliss alike by that direction tend,

And find the means proportion'd to their end.

NOTES.

VER. 68. *Than favour'd Man, &c.*] Several of the ancients, and many of the Orientals since, esteemed those who were struck by lightning as sacred persons, and the particular favourites of Heaven.

Ep. III. ESSAY ON MAN. 55

Say, where full Instinct is th' unerring guide,
 What Pope or Council can they need beside?
 Reason, however able, cool at best, 85
 Cares not for service, or but serves when prest,
 Stays 'till we call, and then not often near;
 But honest Instinct comes a volunteer;
 Sure never to o'er-shoot, but just to hit,
 While still too wide or short is human Wit; 90
 Sure by quick Nature happiness to gain,
 Which heavier Reason labours at in vain.
 This too serves always, Reason never long;
 One must go right, the other may go wrong.
 See then the acting and comparing pow'rs 95
 One in their nature, which are two in ours,
 And Reason raise o'er Instinct as you can,
 In this 'tis God directs, in that 'tis Man.
 Who taught the nations of the field and wood
 To shun their poison, and to choose their food? 100
 Prescient, the tides or tempests to withstand,
 Build on the wave, or arch beneath the sand?
 Who made the spider parallels design,
 Sure as De-moivre, without rule or line?
 Who bid the stork, Columbus-like, explore 105
 Heav'ns not his own, and worlds unknown before?

NOTES.

VER. 104. *De-moivre*,] an eminent Mathematician.

Who calls the council, states the certain day,
 Who forms the phalanx, and who points the way?

III. God, in the nature of each being, founds
 Its proper bliss, and sets its proper bounds : 110
 But as he fram'd a Whole, the Whole to bless,
 On mutual Wants built mutual Happiness :
 So from the first eternal ORDER ran,
 And creature link'd to creature, man to man.
 Whate'er of life all-quick'ning æther keeps, 115
 Or breathes thro' air, or shoots beneath the deeps,
 Or pours profuse on earth ; one nature feeds
 The vital flame, and swells the genial feeds.
 Not Man alone, but all that roam the wood,
 Or wing the sky, or roll along the flood, 120
 Each loves itself, but not itself alone,
 Each sex desires alike, 'till two are one.
 Nor ends the pleasure with the fierce embrace ;
 They love themselves, a third time, in their race.
 Thus beast and bird their common charge attend, 125
 The mothers nurse it, and the fires defend ;
 The young dismiss'd, to wander earth or air,
 There stops the Instinct, and there ends the care ;
 The link dissolves, each seeks a fresh embrace,
 Another love succeeds, another race. 130
 A longer care Man's helpless kind demands ;
 That longer care contracts more lasting bands :
 Reflection, Reason, still the ties improve,
 At once extend the int'rest, and the love ;

Ep. III. ESSAY ON MAN. 57

With choice we fix, with sympathy we burn; 135
 Each Virtue in each Passion takes its turn;
 And still new needs, new helps, new habits rise,
 That graft benevolence on charities.
 Still as one brood, and as another rose,
 These nat'ral love maintain'd, habitual those: 140
 The last, scarce ripen'd into perfect Man,
 Saw helpless him from whom their life began:
 Mem'ry and fore-cast just returns engage,
 That pointed back to youth, this on to age;
 While pleasure, gratitude, and hope, combin'd, 145
 Still spread the int'rest, and preserv'd the kind.

IV. Nor think, in NATURE'S STATE they blindly
 trod;

The state of Nature was the reign of God:
 Self-love and Social at her birth began,
 Union the bond of all things, and of Man. 150
 Pride then was not; nor Arts, that Pride to aid;
 Man walk'd with beast, joint tenant of the shade;

NOTES.

VER. 152. *Man walk'd with beast, joint tenant of the shade.* The poet still takes his imagery from Platonic ideas, for the reason given above. Plato had said from old tradition, that, during the Golden age, and under the reign of Saturn, the primitive language then in use was common to man and beasts. Moral Philosophers took this in the popular sense, and so invented those fables which give speech to the whole brute creation. The naturalists understood the tradition to signify, that, in the first ages. Men used inarticulate sounds like beasts to express their wants and sensations; and that it was by slow

The same his table, and the same his bed ;
 No murder cloth'd him, and no murder fed.
 In the same temple, the resounding wood, 155
 All vocal beings hymn'd their equal God :
 The shrine with gore unstain'd, with gold undrest,
 Unbrib'd, unbloody, stood the blameless priest :

NOTES.

degrees they came to the use of speech. This opinion was afterwards held by Lucretius, Diodorus Sic. and Gregory of Nyss.

VER. 156. *All vocal beings, &c.*] This will be well explained by a sublime passage of the Psalmist, who calling to mind the age of Innocence, and full of the great ideas of those

— Chains of Love,

Combining all below, and all above,
 Which to one point and to one centre bring
 Beast, Man, or Angel, Servant, Lord, or King ;

breaks out into this rapturous and divine apostrophe, to call back the devious creation to its pristine rectitude (that very state our author describes above) " Praise the Lord, all ye angels ; praise him, all ye hosts. Praise ye him, sun and moon ; praise him, all ye stars of light. Let them praise the name of the Lord, for he commanded, and they were created. Praise the Lord, from the earth, ye dragons, and all deeps ; fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy wind fulfilling his word : Mountains and all hills, fruitful trees and all cedars : *Beasts* and all *cattle*, creeping things and flying fowl : *Kings* of the earth, and all people ; *princes*, and all judges of the earth. Let them praise the name of the Lord ; for his name alone is excellent, his glory is above the earth and heaven." *Psal. cxlviii.*

VER. 158. *Unbrib'd, unbloody, &c.*] *i. e.* The state described, from γ 241 to 270. was not yet arrived. For

Ep. III. ESSAY ON MAN.

59

Heav'n's attribute was Universal Care,
And Man's prerogative to rule, but spare.

160

NOTES.

then, when Superstition became so extreme as to bribe the Gods with human sacrifices (see *¶* 267) Tyranny became necessitated to bribe the priest for a favourable answer:

And play'd the God an engine on his foe.

VER. 159. *Heav'n's attribute, &c.*] The poet supposes the Scripture account, that Man was created Lord of this inferior world (Ep. i. *¶* 230)

Subjected these to those, and all to thee.

What has misled some to imagine this a contradiction, was, I suppose such passages as these,

Ask for what end the heav'nly bodies shine, &c.

And again,

Has God thou fool! work'd solely for thy good, &c.

But, in truth, this is far from contradicting what is here said of Man's prerogative, that it greatly confirms it, and what the Scripture tells us concerning it. And because this matter has been mistaken, to the discredit of the poet's religious sentiments, by readers, whom the conduct of certain licentious writers, treating this subject in an abusive way, hath rendered jealous and mistrustful, I shall endeavour to explain it. Scripture says, that Man was made Lord of All. But this Lord becoming at length intoxicated with Pride, the common effect of sovereignty, erected himself, like more partial monarchs, into a tyrant. And as Tyranny consists in supposing *all* made for the use of *one*; he took those freedoms with *all*, that are consequent on such a principle. He soon began to consider the whole animal creation as his slaves rather than his subjects; as being created for no use of their own, but for his only; and therefore treated them with the utmost barbarity: And not so content, to add insult to his cruelty, he endeavoured to philosophize himself into an opinion

Ah! how unlike the man of times to come!
 Of half that live the butcher and the tomb;
 Who, foe to Nature, hears the gen'ral groan,
 Murders their species, and betrays his own.

But just disease to luxury succeeds, 165
 And ev'ry death it's own avenger breeds;
 The Fury-passions from that blood began,
 And turn'd on Man a fiercer savage, Man.

See him from Nature rising flow to Art!
 To copy Instinct then was Reason's part; 170
 Thus then to Man the voice of Nature spake—
 "Go, from the Creatures thy instructions take:
 "Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield;
 "Learn from the beasts the physic of the field;

NOTES.

that animals were mere machines, insensible of pain or pleasure. Thus Man affected to be the Wit as well as Tyrant of the Whole; and it became one who adhered to the Scripture account of Man's dominion to reprove this abuse of it, and to shew that

Heav'n's attribute was Universal Care,
 And Man's prerogative to rule, but spare.

VER. 173. *Learn from the birds, &c.*] It is a common practice among Navigators, when thrown upon a desert coast, — and in want of refreshments, to observe what fruits have been touched by the Birds, and to venture on these without further hesitation.

VER. 174. *Learn from the beasts, &c.*] See Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* l. viii. c. 27. where several instances are given of Animals discovering the medicinal efficacy of herbs, by their own use of them; and pointing out to

Ep. III. ESSAY ON MAN. 61

- “ Thy arts of building from the bee receive; 175
“ Learn of the mole to plow, the worm to weave;
“ Learn of the little Nautilus to sail,
“ Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.
“ Here too all forms of social union find,
“ And hence let Reason, late, instruct mankind: 180
“ Here subterranean works and cities see;
“ There towns aerial on the waving tree.
“ Learn each small People’s genius, policies,
“ The Ant’s republic, and the realm of Bees;
“ How those in common all their wealth bestow, 185
“ And Anarchy without confusion know;
“ And these for ever, tho’ a Monarch reign,
“ Their sep’rate cells and properties maintain.
“ Mark what unvary’d laws preserve each state,
“ Laws wise as Nature, and as fix’d as Fate. 190
“ In vain thy Reason finer webs shall draw,
“ Entangle Justice in her net of Law,
“ And right, too rigid, harden into wrong;
“ Still for the strong too weak, the weak too strong.

NOTES.

some operations in the art of healing, by their own practice.

VER. 177. *Learn of the little Nautilus*] Oppian. Halieut. lib. i. describes this fish in the following manner:
“ They swim on the surface of the sea, on the back of
“ their shells, which exactly resemble the hulk of a ship;
“ they raise two feet like masts, and extend a membrane
“ between, which serves as a sail; the other two feet they
“ employ as oars at the side. They are usually seen in
“ the Mediterranean.”

" Yet go! and thus o'er all the creatures sway, 195

" Thus let the wiser make the rest obey,

" And for those Arts mere Instinct could afford,

" Be crown'd as Monarchs, or as Gods ador'd."

V. Great Nature spoke; observant Men obey'd;
Cities were built, Societies were made: 200

Here rose one little state; another near

Grew by like means, and join'd, thro' love or fear.

Did here the trees with ruddier burdens bend,

And there the streams in purer rills descend?

What War could ravish, Commerce could bestow,

And he return'd a friend, who came a foe. 206

Converse and Love mankind might strongly draw,

When Love was Liberty, and Nature Law.

VARIATIONS.

VER. 197. in the first Editions.

Who, for those Arts they learn'd of Brutes before,

As Kings shall crown them, or as Gods adore.

NOTES.

VER. 199. *Observant Men obey'd;*] The epithet is beautiful, as signifying both obedience to the voice of Nature and attention to the lessons of the animal creation.

VER. 208. *When Love was Liberty;*] *i. e.* When men had no need to guard their native liberty from their governors by civil pactions: the love which each master of a family had for those under his care being their best security.

Ep. III. ESSAY ON MAN.

63

Thus States were form'd; the name of King unknown,

'Till common int'rest plac'd the sway in one. 210

'Twas VIRTUE ONLY (or in arts or arms,

Diffusing blessings, or averting harms)

The same which in a Sire the Sons obey'd,

A Prince the Father of a People made.

NOTES.

VER. 209. *Thus States were form'd;*] This is said in confutation of that idle hypothesis which pretends that God conferred the regal title on the Fathers of families, from whence men, when they had instituted Society, were to fetch their magistrates. On the contrary, our author shews that a King was unknown, 'till common interest, which led men to institute civil government, led them at the same time to institute a governor. However, that it is true that the same wisdom or valour, which gained regal obedience from sons to the sire, procured kings a paternal authority, and made them considered as fathers of their people. Which probably was the original (and while mistaken, continues to be the chief support) of that slavish error; antiquity representing its earliest monarchs under the idea of a common father, *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν*. Afterwards indeed they became a kind of foster-fathers, *ποιμῆνα λαῶν*, as Homer calls one of them: 'Till at length they began to devour that flock they had been so long accustomed to shear; and, as Plutarch says of Cecrops, *ἐκ χρηστῆ βασιλείας ἄγειον καὶ δρακοντώδη γινόμενοι ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΝ*.

VER. 211. *'Twas Virtue only, &c.*] Our author hath good authority for his account of the origin of kingship. Aristotle assures us of this truth, that it was Virtue only, or in arts or arms: *Καθίσταται Βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ ὑπεροχῶν ἀρετῆς. ἢ πραξέων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἢ καὶ ὑπεροχῆν τοιαύτη γίναται.*

VI. 'Till then, by Nature crown'd, each Patri-
arch fate, 215

King, priest, and parent of his growing state ;
On him their second Providence they hung,
Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.
He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food,
Taught to command the fire, controul the flood, 220
Draw forth the monsters of th' abyfs profound,
Or fetch th' aerial eagle to the ground.
'Till drooping, sick'ning, dying, they began
Whom they rever'd as God to mourn as Man :
Then looking up from fire to fire, explor'd 225
One great first father, and that first ador'd.
Or plain tradition that this All begun,
Convey'd unbroken faith from fire to son,
The worker from the work distinct was known,
And simple Reason never fought but one: 230

NOTES.

VER. 219. *He from the wond'ring furrow, &c.] i. e.* He subdued the intractability of all the four elements, and made them subservient to the use of Man.

VER. 225. *Then looking up, &c.]* The poet here maketh their more serious attention to Religion to have arisen, not from their gratitude amidst abundance, but from their helplessness in distress; by shewing that during the former state they rested in second causes, the immediate authors of their blessings, *whom they revered as God:* but that in the other they reasoned up to the First;

Then looking up from fire to fire, &c.

This, I am afraid, is but too true a representation of human nature.

Ep. III. E S S A Y O N M A N.

65

E'er Wit oblique had broke that steddy light,
 Man, like his Maker, saw that all was right,
 To Virtue, in the paths of Pleasure, trod,
 And own'd a Father when he own'd a God.
 LOVE all the faith, and all th' allegiance then ; 235
 For Nature knew no right divine in Men,
 No ill could fear in God ; and understood
 A sov'reign being but a sov'reign good.
 True faith, true policy, united ran,
 That was but love of God, and this of Man. 240

Who first taught souls enslav'd, and realms undone,
 Th' enormous faith of many made for one ;

N O T E S.

VER. 231. *E'er Wit oblique, &c.*] A beautiful allusion to the effects of the prismatic glass on the rays of light.

VER. 241. *Who first taught souls enslav'd, &c.*] The Poet informs us, agreeable to his exact knowledge of antiquity, that it was the Politician and not the Priest (as our illiterate tribe of Free-thinkers would make us believe) who first corrupted Religion. And that the Superstition he brought in was not invented by him, as an engine to play upon others (as the dreaming Atheist feigns, who would thus miserably account for the origin of Religion) but was a trap he first fell into himself.

VER. 242. *Th' enormous faith, &c.*] In this Aristotle places the difference between a king and a tyrant ; that the first supposes himself made for the people ; the other, that the people are made for him : Βασιλῆαι δ' ὁ βασιΛΕΥΣ εἶναι φύλαξ, ὅπως οἱ μὲν κεκλιμένοι τὰς ἐσίας μὴθὲν ἄδικον πάσχωσι, ὁ δὲ δῆμος μὴ ὑβρίζῃται μὴθὲν ἢ δὲ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΣ πρὸς ἑδὲν ἀποτέλειται κοινόν, εἰ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας ὠφελείας χάριν. Pol. lib. v. cap. 10.

That proud exception to all Nature's laws,
 T' invert the world, and counter-work its Cause?
 Force first made Conquest, and that conquest, Law;
 'Till Superstition taught the tyrant awe, 246
 Then shar'd the Tyranny, then lent it aid,
 And Gods of Conqu'rors, Slaves of Subjects made:
 She, 'midst the light'ning's blaze, and thunder's sound,
 When rock'd the mountains, and when groan'd the
 ground, 250
 She taught the weak to bend, the proud to pray,
 To Pow'r unseen, and mightier far than they:
 She, from the rending earth and bursting skies,
 Saw Gods descend, and fiends infernal rise:
 Here fix'd the dreadful, there the blest abodes; 255
 Fear made her Devils, and weak Hope her Gods;
 Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,
 Whose attributes were Rage, Revenge, or Lust;

NOTES.

VER. 245. *Force first made Conquest, &c.*] All this is agreeable to an exact knowledge of human nature. For that Impotency of mind (as the Latin writers call it) which gives birth to the enormous crimes necessary to support a Tyranny, naturally subjects its owner to all the vain, as well as real, terrors of conscience: Hence the whole machinery of Superstition.

VER. 257. *Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust, &c.*] The ancient Pagan Gods are here very exactly described. This fact is a convincing evidence of the truth of that original which the poet gives to Superstition; for if these phantasms were first raised in the imagination of Tyrants, they must needs have the qualities here assigned them. For Force being the Tyrant's Virtue, and Luxury his Happiness, the attributes of his

Ep. III. ESSAY ON MAN. 67

Such as the souls of cowards might conceive,
 And form'd like tyrants, tyrants would believe. 260
 Zeal then, not charity, became the guide,
 And hell was built on spite, and heav'n on pride.
 Then sacred seem'd th' etherial vault no more ;
 Altars grew marble then, and reek'd with gore :
 Then first the Flamen tasted living food ; 265
 Next his grim idol smear'd with human blood ;
 With Heav'n's own thunders shook the world below,
 And play'd the God an engine on his foe.

So drives Self-love, thro' just and thro' unjust,
 To one Man's pow'r, ambition, lucre, lust : 270
 The same Self-love, in all, becomes the cause
 Of what restrains him, Government and Laws.
 For, what one likes if others like as well,
 What serves one will, when many wills rebel?
 How shall he keep, what, sleeping or awake, 275
 A weaker may surprise, a stronger take?

NOTES.

God would of course be Revenge and Lust; in a word, the anti-type of himself. But there was another, and more substantial cause, of the resemblance between a Tyrant and a Pagan god; and that was the making *Gods of Conquerors*, as the poet says, and so canonizing a tyrant's vices with his person.

VER. 262. *And hell was built, &c.*] This might very well be said of those times, when no one was content to go to heaven without being received on the footing of a God.

His safety must his liberty restrain :

All join to guard what each desires to gain.

Forc'd into virtue thus by Self-defence,

Ev'n Kings learn'd justice and benevolence : 280

Self-love forsook the path it first pursu'd,

And found the private in the public good.

'Twas then, the studious head or gen'rous mind,

Follow'r of God or friend of human kind,

Poet or Patriot, rose but to restore 285

The Faith and Moral, Nature gave before ;

Re-lum'd her ancient light, not kindled new ;

If not God's image, yet his shadow drew :

Taught Pow'r's due use to People and to Kings,

Taught nor to slack, nor strain its tender strings, 290

The less or greater, set so justly true,

That touching one must strike the other too ;

'Till jarring int'rests of themselves create

Th' according music of a well-mix'd State.

Such is the World's great harmony, that springs 295

From Order, Union, full Consent of things !

NOTES.

VER. 283. *'Twas then, &c.*] The poet seems here to mean the polite and flourishing age of Greece ; and those benefactors to Mankind which he had principally in view were Socrates and Aristotle, who, of all the pagan world, spoke best of God, and wrote best of Government.

VER. 295. *Such is the World's great harmony, &c.*] An harmony very different from the *pre-established harmony* of the celebrated Leibnitz, which establisheth a fatality destructive of all Religion and Morality. Yet hath the

Ep. III. ESSAY ON MAN. 69

Where small and great, where weak and mighty
made

To serve, not suffer, strengthen, not invade;
More pow'rful each as needful to the rest,
And in proportion as it blesses, blest ; 300
Draw to one point, and to one centre bring
Beast, Man, or Angel, Servant, Lord, or King.

NOTES.

poet been accused of espousing of that impious whimfy. The *pre-establiſhed harmony* was built upon, and is an outrageous extension of a conception of Plato's; who, combating the atheistical objections about the *origin of Evil*, employs this argument in defence of Providence; "That amongſt an infinite number of poſſible worlds in God's idea, this, which he hath created and brought into being, and which admits of a mixture of Evil, is the beſt. But if the beſt, then Evil conſequently is partial, comparatively ſmall, and tendeth to the greater perfection of the whole." This principle is eſpouſed and ſupported by Mr. Pope with all the power of reaſon and poetry. But neither was Plato a Fataliſt, nor is there any Fataliſm in the argument. As to the truth of the notion, that is another queſtion; and how far it clears up the very difficult controverſy about the origin of Evil, is ſtill another. That it is a full ſolution of all difficulties, I cannot think, for reaſons too long to be given in this place: Perhaps we ſhall never have a full ſolution in this world: and it may be no great matter though we have not, as we are *demonſtrably certain* of the *moral attributes* of the Deity. However, Mr. Pope may be juſtified in receiving and enforcing this Platonic notion, as it hath been adopted by the moſt celebrated and orthodox Divines both of the ancient and modern church.

For Forms of Government let fools contest ;
 Whate'er is best administer'd is best :
 For Modes of Faith let graceless zealots fight ; 305
 His can't be wrong whose life is in the right :

NOTES.

VER. 303. *For Forms of Government let fools contest ;*] The seasonableness of this reproof will appear evident enough to those who know, that mad disputes about Liberty and Prerogative had once well nigh overturned our Constitution ; and that others about Mystery and Church Authority had almost destroyed the very spirit of our Religion.

VER. 303. *For Forms of Government, &c.*] These fine lines have been strangely misunderstood : the author, against his own express words, against the plain sense of his system, has been conceived to mean, That all Governments and all Religions were, as to their forms and objects, indifferent. But as this wrong judgment proceeded from ignorance of the reason of the reproof, as explained above, that explanation is alone sufficient to rectify the mistake. But the Reader will not be displeased to see the Poet's own apology, as I find it written in the year 1740, in his own hand, in the margin of a book, where he found these two celebrated lines misapplied. " The author of these lines was far from meaning that no one form of Government is, in itself, better than another (as, that mixed or limited Monarchy, for example, is not preferable to absolute) but that no form of Government, however excellent or preferable in itself, can be sufficient to make a people happy, unless it be administered with integrity. On the contrary, the best sort of Government, when the *form* of it is preserved, and the *administration* corrupt, is most dangerous."

VER. 305. *For Modes of Faith, &c.*] To suppose him to mean, that *all Religions* are indifferent, is an equally wrong as well as uncharitable suspicion. Mr. Pope,

In Faith and Hope the world will disagree,
But all Mankind's concern is Charity :

NOTES.

though his subject in this Essay on Man confines him to Natural religion (his purpose being to vindicate God's natural dispensations to Mankind against the Atheist) yet gives frequent intimations of a more sublime dispensation, and even of the necessity of it ; particularly in his second epistle (p 149, &c.) where he confesses the weakness and insufficiency of human Reason.

And in his fourth epistle, where speaking of the good Man, the favourite of Heaven, he says,

For him alone *Hope* leads from goal to goal,
And opens still, and opens on his soul ;
'Till lengthen'd on to *Faith*, and unconfin'd,
It pours the bliss that fills up all the Mind.

But Natural religion never lengthened Hope on to Faith ; nor did any religion, but the Christian, ever conceive that Faith could fill the Mind with Happiness.

Lastly, in this very epistle, and in this very place, speaking of the great Restorers of the *religion of Nature*, he intimates that they could only draw God's *shadow*, not his *image* :

If not God's image, yet his shadow drew ;
which was reserved for the *Gospel of Christ who is the IMAGE of God*. 2. Cor. iv. 4.

VER. 305. *For Modes of Faith let graceless zealots fight ;*] These latter Ages have seen so many scandalous contentions for *modes of Faith*, to the violation of Christian Charity, and dishonour of sacred Scripture, that it is not at all strange they should become the object of so benevolent and wise an Author's resentment

But that which he here seemed to have more particularly in his eye was the long and mischievous squabble between W——d and JACKSON, on a point confessedly

All must be false that thwart this One great End,
And all of God, that bless Mankind or mend. 310

NOTES.

above Reason, and amongst those adorable mysteries which it is the honour of our Religion to find unfathomable. In this, by the weight of answers and replies, redoubled upon one another without mercy, they made so profound a progress, that the *One* proved, nothing hindred, in Nature, but that *the Son might have been the Father*; and the *Other*, that nothing hindered, in Grace, but that *the Son may be a mere Creature*. In a word, they made all things disputable but their own dullness; and this they left unquestioned; and it was the only thing they did leave, of which their readers could be certain. But if, instead of throwing so many Greek Fathers at one another's heads, they had but chanced to reflect on the sense of one Greek word, ΑΠΕΙΡΙΑ, that it signifies both INFINITY and IGNORANCE, this single *equivocation* might have saved them ten thousand, which they expended in carrying on the controversy. However those *Mists that magnified the Scene*, enlarged the Character of the Combatants: and nobody expecting *common* sense on a subject where we have no ideas, the defects of dulness disappeared, and its advantages (for, advantages it has) were all provided for.

The worst is, such kind of Writers seldom know when to have done. For writing themselves up into the same delusion with their Readers, they are apt to venture out into the more open paths of Literature, where their reputation, made out of that stuff, which Lucian calls *ζότος ὑλόχρους*, presently falls from them, and their nakedness appears. And thus it fared with our two Worthies. The World, which must have always something to amuse it, was now in good time grown weary of its play-things, and caught at a new object that promised them more agreeable entertainment. Tindal, a kind of Bastard Socrates, had brought our speculations from *Heaven to Earth*: and, under the pretence of advancing the

Man, like the gen'rous vine, supported lives;
The strength he gains is from th' embrace he gives.

NOTES.

Antiquity of Christianity, laboured to undermine its original. This was a controversy that required another management. Clear sense, severe reasoning, a thorough knowledge of prophane and sacred Antiquity, and an intimate acquaintance with human Nature, were the qualities to determine upon this Question. A very unpromising adventure for these metaphysical nurslings, bred up under the shade of chimeras. Yet they would needs venture out. What they got by it was only to be once well laughed at, and then forgotten. But one odd circumstance deserves to be remembered; tho' they wrote not, you may be sure, in concert, yet each attacked his Adversary at the same time, fastened upon him in the same place, and mumbled him just in the same manner. But the ill success of this escape soon brought them to themselves. The One made a fruitless effort to revive the old game, in a discourse on *The importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*; and the Other has been ever since, till very lately, rambling in SPACE.

This short history, as insignificant as the subjects of it are, may not be altogether unuseful to posterity. Divines may learn by these examples to avoid the mischiefs done to Religion and Literature thro' the affectation of being wise above what is written, and knowing beyond what can be understood.

VER. 311. *Man, like the gen'rous wine, &c*] Having thus largely, considered Man in his social capacity, the poet, in order to fix a momentous truth in the mind of his reader, concludes the epistle in recapitulating the *two principles* which concur to the support of this part of his character, namely, SELF-LOVE and SOCIAL, and shewing that they are only two different *motions* of the appetite to Good, by which the Author of Nature has enabled Man to find his own happiness in the happiness of the Whole.

On their own Axis as the Planets run,
Yet make at once their circle round the Sun :
So two consistent motions act the Soul ; 315
And one regards Itself, and one the Whole.

Thus God and Nature link'd the gen'ral frame,
And bade Self-love and Social be the same.

NOTES.

This he illustrates with a thought as sublime as that general harmony he describes: For he hath the art of converting poetical ornaments into philosophic reasoning; and of improving a simile into an analogical argument.

On their own Axis as the Planets run,
Yet make at once their circle round the Sun :
So two consistent motions act the Soul ;
And one regards Itself, and one the Whole.
Thus God and Nature link'd the gen'ral frame,
And bade Self-love and Social be the same.



EPISTLE IV.

OH HAPPINESS! our being's end and aim!
Good, Pleasure, Ease, Content! whate'er thy
name:

NOTES.

THE two foregoing epistles having considered Man with regard to the *Means*, (that is, in all his relations, whether as an Individual, or a Member of Society) this last comes to consider him with regard to the *End*, that is, Happiness.

It opens with an Invocation to Happiness, in the manner of the ancient poets, who, when destitute of a patron God, applied to the Muse, and if she was engaged, took up with any simple Virtue next at hand to inspire and prosper their designs. This was the ancient INVOCATION, which few modern poets have had the art to imitate with any degree of spirit or decorum; but our author hath contrived to make it subservient to the method and reasoning of his philosophic composition. I will endeavour to explain so uncommon a beauty.

It is to be observed that the Pagan deities had each their several *names* and *places of abode*, with some of which they were supposed to be more delighted than others, and consequently to be then most propitious when invoked by the favourite name and place: Hence we find the hymns

That something still which prompts th' eternal sigh,
For which we bear to live, or dare to die,

NOTES.

of Homer, Orpheus, and Callimachus to be chiefly employed in enumerating the several names and places of abode by which the patron God was distinguished. Our poet hath made these two circumstances serve to introduce his subject. His purpose is to write of Happiness; method therefore requires that he first define what men mean by Happiness; and this he does in the ornament of a poetic invocation:

Oh Happiness! our being's end and aim,
Good, Pleasure, Ease, Content! whate'er thy Name!

After the Definition, that which follows next, is the Proposition, which is, *that human Happiness consists not in external Advantages, but in Virtue*. For the subject of this epistle is the detecting the false notions of Happiness, and settling and explaining the true; and this the poet lays down in the next sixteen lines. Now the enumeration of the several situations in which Happiness is supposed to reside is a summary of *false* Happiness, placed in Externals:

Plant of celestial seed! if dropt below,
Say in what mortal soil thou deign'st to grow?
Fair op'ning to some Court's propitious shine,
Or deep with di'monds in the flaming mine,
Twin'd with the wreaths Parnassian laurels yield,
Or reap'd in iron harvests of the field?

The six remaining lines deliver the *true* notion of Happiness to be in Virtue. Which is summed up in these two:

Fix'd to no Spot is Happiness sincere,
'Tis no where to be found, or ev'ry where.

The poet having thus defined his terms, and laid down his proposition, proceeds to the support of his thesis;

Ep. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 77

Which still so near us, yet beyond us lies, 5
 O'er-look'd, seen double, by the fool and wise.
 Plant of celestial seed! if dropt below,
 Say, in what mortal soil thou deign'st to grow?
 Fair op'ning to some Court's propitious shine,
 Or deep with di'monds in the flaming mine? 10
 Twin'd with the wreaths Parnassian lawrels yield,
 Or reap'd in iron harvests of the field?
 Where grows? — where grows it not? — If vain
 our toil,
 We ought to blame the culture, not the soil:
 Fix'd to no spot is Happiness sincere, 15
 'Tis no where to be found, or ev'ry where;
 'Tis never to be bought, but always free,
 And fled from Monarchs, ST. JOHN! dwells with
 thee.

Ask of the Learn'd the way, the Learn'd are blind,
 This bids to serve, and that to shun mankind; 20
 Some place the bliss in action, some in ease,
 Those call it Pleasure, and Contentment these;

NOTES.

the various arguments of which make up the body of the epistle.

VER. 6. *O'erlook'd, seen double*] *O'erlook'd* by those who place Happiness in any thing exclusive of Virtue; *seen double* by those who admit any thing else to have a share with Virtue in procuring Happiness; these being the two general mistakes that this epistle is employed in confuting.

VER. 21. *Some place the bliss in action, — some sunk to Beasts, &c.*] 1. Those who place Happiness, or

Some sunk to Beasts, find pleasure end in pain ;
 Some swell'd to Gods, confess ev'n Virtue vain ;
 Or indolent, to each extreme they fall, 25
 To trust in ev'ry thing, or doubt of all.

Who thus define it, say they more or less
 Than this, that Happiness is Happiness?

Take Nature's path, and mad Opinion's leave,
 All states can reach it, and all heads conceive ; 30
 Obvious her goods, in no extreme they dwell,
 There needs but thinking right, and meaning well ;
 And mourn our various portions as we please,
 Equal is Common Sense, and Common Ease.

Remember, Man, " the Universal Cause 35
 " Acts not by partial, but by gen'ral laws ;"

NOTES.

the *summum bonum*, in Pleasure, ἡδονή, such as the Cyrenaic sect, called on that account the Hedonic. 2. Those who place it in a certain tranquillity or calmness of Mind, which they call εὐθυμία, such as the Democritic sect. 3. The Epicurean. 4. The Stoic. 5. The Protagorean, which held that Man was πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον, *the measure of all things* ; for that all things which appear to him, *are*, and those things which appear not to any Man, *are not* ; so that every imagination or opinion of every man was true. 6. The Sceptic : Whose absolute Doubt is with great judgment said to be the effect of Indolence, as well as the absolute Trust of the Protagorean : For the same dread of labour attending the search of truth, which makes this latter presume it to be always at hand, makes the former conclude it is never to be found. The only difference is, that the laziness of the one is desponding, and the laziness of the other sanguine ; yet both can give it a good name, and call it *Happiness*.

Ep. IV. ESSAY ON MAN.

79

And makes what Happiness we justly call
Subsist not in the good of one, but all.

There's not a blessing Individuals find,
But some way leans and hearkens to the kind. 40

No Bandit fierce, no Tyrant mad with pride,
No cavern'd Hermit, rests self-satisfy'd.

Who most to shun or hate Mankind pretend,
Seek an admirer, or would fix a friend.

Abstract what others feel, what others think, 45
All pleasures sicken, and all glories sink;

Each has his share; and who would more obtain,
Shall find, the pleasure pays not half the pain.

ORDER is Heav'n's first law; and this confess,
Some are, and must be, greater than the rest, 50

More rich, more wise; but who infers from hence
That such are happier, shocks all common sense.

Heav'n to Mankind impartial we confess,

If all are equal in their Happiness:

But mutual wants this Happiness increase, 55

All Nature's difference keeps all Nature's peace.

Condition, circumstance is not the thing;

Bliss is the same in subject or in king,

In who obtain defence, or who defend,

In him who is, or him who finds a friend: 60

NOTES.

VER. 49. *Order is Heav'n's first law;*] i. e. The first law made by God relates to Order; which is a beautiful allusion to the Scripture history of the Creation, when God first appeased the disorders of Chaos, and separated the light from the darkness.

Heav'n breaths thro' ev'ry member of the whole
One common blessing, as one common soul.

But fortune's gifts if each alike possesse,
And each were equal, must not all contest?

If then to all Men Happiness was meant, 65
God in Externals could not place Content.

Fortune her gifts may variously dispose,
And these be happy call'd, unhappy those;
But Heav'n's just balance equal will appear,
While those are plac'd in Hope, and these in Fear: 70
Not present good or ill, the joy or curse,
But future views of better, or of worse.

Oh sons of earth! attempt ye still to rise,
By mountains pil'd on mountains, to the skies?
Heav'n still with laughter the vain toil surveys, 75
And buries madmen in the heaps they raise.

Know, all the good that individuals find,
Or God and Nature meant to mere Mankind;
Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of Sense,
Lie in three words, Health, Peace, and Competence.
But Health consists with Temperance alone, 81
And Peace, oh Virtue! Peace is all thy own.

NOTES.

VER. 79. *Reason's whole pleasure, &c.*] This is the most beautiful paraphrase for Happiness; for all we feel of good is by *sensation* and *reflexion*.

VER. 82. *And Peace, &c.*] *Conscious Innocence* (says the poet) is the only source of *internal Peace*; and *known Innocence* of *external*; therefore, Peace is the sole issue of Virtue; or, in his own emphatic words, *Peace is all*

Ep. IV. E S S A Y O N M A N. 81

The good or bad the gifts of Fortune gain,
 But these less taste them, as they worse obtain.
 Say, in pursuit of profit or delight, 85
 Who risk the most, that take wrong means or right?
 Of Vice or Virtue, whether blest or curst,
 Which meets contempt, or which compassion first?
 Count all th' advantage prosp'rous Vice attains,
 'Tis but what Virtue flies from and disdains: 90
 And grant the bad what happiness they wou'd,
 One they must want, which is, to pass for good.
 Oh blind to truth, and God's whole scheme below,
 Who fancy Bliss to Vice, to Virtue Woe!

N O T E S.

thy own; a conclusive observation in his argument, which stands thus: Is Happiness rightly placed in Externals? No; for it consists in Health, Peace, and Competence. Health and Competence are the product of Temperance, and Peace of perfect Innocence.

VER. 93. *Oh! blind to truth, &c.*] Our author having thus largely confuted the mistake of Happiness's consisting in externals, proceeds to expose the terrible consequences of such an opinion, on the sentiments and practice of all sorts of men, making the Dissolute impious and atheistical, the Religious uncharitable and intolerant, and the Good restless and discontent. For when it is once taken for granted, that Happiness consists in externals, it is immediately seen that ill men are often more happy than good; which sets all conditions on objecting to the ways of Providence, and some even on rashly attempting to rectify its dispensations, though by the violation of all Law, divine and human.

Who sees and follows that great scheme the best, 95
 Best knows the blessing, and will most be blest.
 But fools the Good alone unhappy call,
 For ills or accidents that chance to all.
 See FALKLAND dies, the virtuous and the just !
 See god-like TURENNE prostrate on the dust ! 100
 See SIDNEY bleeds amid the martial strife !
 Was this their Virtue, or Contempt of Life ?
 Say, was it Virtue, more tho' Heav'n ne'er gave,
 Lamented DIGBY ! sunk thee to the grave ?
 Tell me, if Virtue made the Son expire, 105
 Why, full of days and honour, lives the Sire ?
 Why drew Marseille's good bishop purer breath,
 When Nature sicken'd, and each gale was death ?
 Or why so long (in life if long can be)
 Lent Heav'n a parent to the poor and me ? 110

NOTES.

VER. 100. *See god-like Turenne*] This epithet has a peculiar justness ; the great man to whom it is applied not being distinguished from other Generals for any of his superior qualities so much as for his providential care of those whom he led to war ; which was so extraordinary, that his chief purpose in taking on himself the command of armies, seems to have been the Preservation of Mankind. In this *god-like* care he was more distinguishably employed throughout the whole course of that famous campaign in which he lost his life.

VER. 110. *Lent Heav'n a parent, &c.*] This last instance of the poet's illustration of the ways of Providence, the reader sees, has a peculiar elegance ; where a tribute of piety to a parent is paid in a return of thanks to, and made subservient of his vindication of, the Great Giver

What makes all physical or moral ill?
 There deviates Nature, and here wanders Will.
 God sends not ill; if rightly understood,
 Or partial Ill is universal Good,
 Or Change admits, or Nature lets it fall, 115
 Short, and but rare, 'till Man improv'd it all.
 We just as wisely might of Heav'n complain,
 That righteous Abel was destroy'd by Cain;
 As that the virtuous son is ill at ease,
 When his lewd father gave the dire disease. 120
 Think we, like some weak Prince, th' Eternal Cause
 Prone for his fav'rites to reverse his laws?
 Shall burning Ætna, if a sage requires,
 Forget to thunder, and recall her fires?
 On air or sea new motions be imprest, 125
 Oh blameless Bethel! to relieve thy breast?

NOTES.

and Father of all things. The Mother of the author, a person of great piety and charity, died the year this poem was finished, viz. 1733.

VER. 121. *Think we, like some weak Prince, &c.*] Agreeably hereunto, holy Scripture, in its account of things under the common Providence of Heaven, never represents miracles as wrought for the sake of him who is the object of them, but in order to give credit to some of God's extraordinary dispensations to Mankind.

VER. 123. *Shall burning Ætna, &c.*] Alluding to the fate of those two great Naturalists, Empedocles and Pliny, who both perished by too near an approach to Ætna and Vesuvius, while they were exploring the cause of their eruptions.

84 E S S A Y O N M A N . E p . I V .

When the loose mountain trembles from on high,
 Shall gravitation cease, if you go by?
 Or some old temple, nodding to its fall,
 For Chartres' head reserve the hanging wall? 130
 But still this world (so fitted for the knave)
 Contents us not. A better shall we have?
 A kingdom of the Just then let it be:
 But first consider how those Just agree.
 The good must merit God's peculiar care; 135
 But who, but God, can tell us who they are?
 One thinks on Calvin Heav'n's own spirit fell,
 Another deems him instrument of hell;
 If Calvin feel Heav'n's blessing, or its rod,
 This cries there is, and that there is no God. 140
 What shocks one part will edify the rest,
 Nor with one system can they all be blest.
 The very best will variously incline,
 And what rewards your Virtue, punish mine.
 "Whatever is, IS RIGHT." — This world, 'tis
 true, 145
 Was made for Cæsar—but for Titus too:
 And which more blest? who chain'd his country, say,
 Or he whose Virtue sigh'd to lose a day?

V A R I A T I O N S .

After ♀ 142. in some Editions,
 Give each a System, all must be at strife;
 What different Systems for a Man and Wife?

Ep. IV. ESSAY ON MAN.

85

“ But sometimes Virtue starves, while Vice is fed.”

What then ? Is the reward of Virtue bread? 150

That Vice may merit ; 'tis the price of toil ;

The knave deserves it, when he tills the soil,

The knave deserves it, when he tempts the main,

Where Folly fights for kings, or dives for gain.

The good man may be weak, be indolent, 155

Nor is his claim to plenty, but content.

But grant him Riches, your demand is o'er ?

“ No — shall the good want Health, the good want Pow'r ? ”

Add Health, and Pow'r, and ev'ry earthly thing ;

“ Why bounded Pow'r ? why private ? why no king ? ” 160

Nay, why external for internal giv'n ?

Why is not Man a God, and Earth a Heav'n ?

Who ask and reason thus, will scarce conceive

God gives enough, while he has more to give :

Immenfe the pow'r, immenfe were the demand ; 165

Say, at what part of nature will they stand ?

What nothing earthly gives, or can destroy,

The soul's calm fun-shine, and the heart-felt joy,

Is Virtue's prize : A better would you fix ?

Then give Humility a coach and fix, 170

Justice a Conqu'ror's sword, or Truth a gown,

Or Public Spirit its great cure, a Crown.

Weak, foolish man! will Heav'n reward us there
 With the same trash mad mortals wish for here?
 The Boy and Man an individual makes, 175
 Yet sigh'st thou now for apples and for cakes?
 Go, like the Indian, in another life
 Expect thy dog, thy bottle, and thy wife:
 As well as dream such trifles are assign'd,
 As toys and empires, for a god-like mind. 180
 Rewards, that either would to Virtue bring
 No joy, or be destructive of the thing:
 How oft by these at sixty are undone
 The virtues of a saint at twenty-one!
 To whom can Riches give Repute, or Trust, 185
 Content, or Pleasure, but the Good and Just?
 Judges and Senates have been bought for gold,
 Esteem and Love were never to be sold.
 Oh fool! to think God hates the worthy mind,
 The lover and the love of human-kind, 190
 Whose life is healthful, and whose conscience clear;
 Because he wants a thousand pounds a year.
 Honour and shame from no Condition rise;
 Act well your part, there all the honour lies.

NOTES.

VER. 177. *Go, like the Indian, &c.*] Alluding to the example of the Indian in Epist. i. v. 99. and shewing, that that example was not given to discredit any rational hopes of future happiness, but only to shew the folly of separating them from charity: as when

—Zeal, not Charity, became the guide,
 And hell was built on spite, and heav'n on pride.

Ep. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 87

Fortune in Men has some small diff'rence made, 195

One flaunts in rags, one flutters in brocade,

The cobbler apron'd, and the parson gown'd,

The frier hooded, and the monarch crown'd.

“What differ more (you cry) than crown and
cowl?”

I'll tell you, friend! a Wise man and a Fool. 200

You'll find, if once the monarch acts the monk,

Or, cobbler-like, the parson will be drunk,

Worth makes the man, and want of it, the fellow;

The rest is all but leather or Prunella.

Stuck o'er with titles and hung round with strings,

That thou may'st be by kings, or whores of kings, 206

Boast the pure blood of an illustrious race,

In quiet flow from Lucrece to Lucrece;

But by your father's worth if your's you rate,

Count me those only who were good and great. 210

Go! if your ancient, but ignoble blood

Has crept thro' scoundrels ever since the flood,

Go! and pretend your family is young?

Nor own, your fathers have been fools so long.

What can ennoble fots, or slaves, or cowards? 215

Alas! not all the blood of all the HOWARDS.

Look next on Greatness: say where Greatness lies.

“Where, but among the Heroes and the Wife?”

Heroes are much the same, the point's agreed;

From Macedonia's madman to the Swede; 220

The whole strange purpose of their lives to find
Or make an enemy of all mankind !

Not one looks backward, onward still he goes,
Yet ne'er looks forward further than his nose.

No less alike the Politic and Wise, 225

All fly slow things, with circumspective eyes :

Men in their loose unguarded hours they take,

Not that themselves are wise, but others weak.

But grant that those can conquer, these can cheat,

'Tis phrase absurd to call a Villain Great : 230

Who wickedly is wise, or madly brave,

Is but the more a fool, the more a knave.

Who noble ends by noble means obtains,

Or failing, smiles in exile or in chains,

Like good Aurelius let him reign, or bleed 235

Like Socrates, that Man is great indeed.

What's Fame ? a fancy'd life in others breath,

A thing beyond us, ev'n before our death.

Just what you hear, you have, and what's unknown,

The same (my Lord) if Tully's, or your own. 240

All that we feel of it begins and ends

In the small circle of our foes or friends ;

To all beside, as much an empty shade,

An Eugene living, as a Cæsar dead,

Alike or when, or where, they shone, or shine, 245

Or on the Rubicon, or on the Rhine.

A Wit's a feather, and a Chief a rod ;

An honest Man's the noblest work of God.

Ep. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 89

Fame but from death a villain's name can save,
As Justice tears his body from the grave, 250
When what t'oblivion better were resign'd,
Is hung on high to poison half mankind.
All fame is foreign, but of true desert,
Plays round the head, but comes not to the heart :
One self-approving hour whole years out-weighs 255
Of stupid starers, and of loud huzza's ;
And more true joy Marcellus exil'd feels,
Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels.

In Parts superior what advantage lies ?
Tell (for You can) what is it to be wise ? 260
'Tis but to know how little can be known ;
To see all others faults, and feel our own :
Condemn'd in bus'ness or in arts to drudge
Without a second, or without a judge :
Truths would you teach, or save a sinking land ? 265
All fear, none aid you, and few understand.
Painful preheminance ! yourself to view
Above life's weakness, and its comforts too.

Bring then these blessings to a strict account,
Make fair deductions, see to what they mount. 270
How much of other each is sure to cost ;
How each for other oft is wholly lost ;
How inconsistent greater goods with these ;
How sometimes life is risk'd, and always ease :
Think, and if still the things thy envy call, 275
Say, would'st thou be the Man to whom they fall ?

To sigh for ribbands, if thou art so silly,
 Mark how they grace Lord Umbra, or Sir Billy :
 Is yellow dirt the passion of thy life ?
 Look but on Gripus, or on Gripus' wife : 280
 If Parts allure thee, think how Bacon shin'd,
 The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind :
 Or ravish'd with the whistling of a Name,
 See Cromwell, damn'd to everlasting fame !

NOTES.

VER. 281. *If Parts allure thee. — Or ravish'd with the whistling of a name,*] These two instances are chosen with great judgment ; the world, perhaps, does not afford two other such. Bacon discovered and laid down those principles, by the assistance of which Newton was enabled to unfold the whole law of Nature. He was no less eminent for the creative power of his imagination, the brightness of his thoughts, and the force of his expression : Yet being convicted and punished for bribery and corruption in the administration of Justice, while he presided in the supreme Court of Equity, he endeavoured to repair his ruined fortunes by the most profligate flattery to the Court : which from his first entrance into it he had accustomed himself to practice, with a prostitution that disgraceth the very profession of letters.

Cromwell seemeth to be distinguished in the most eminent manner, with regard to his abilities, from all other great and wicked men, who have overturned the Liberties of their Country. The times in which others succeeded in this attempt were such as saw the spirit of Liberty suppressed and stifled by a general luxury and venality : But Cromwell subdued his country when this spirit was at its height, by a successful struggle against court-oppression, and while it was conducted and supported by a set of the greatest Geniuses for government the world ever saw embarked together in one common cause.

Ep. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 91

If all, united, thy ambition call, 285
 From ancient story learn to scorn them all.
 There, in the rich, the honour'd, fam'd, and great,
 See the false scale of Happiness complete !
 In hearts of Kings, or arms of Queens who lay,
 How happy ! those to ruin, these betray, 290
 Mark by what wretched steps their glory grows,
 From dirt and sea-weed as proud Venice rose ;
 In each how guilt and greatness equal ran,
 And all that rais'd the Hero, sunk the Man.
 Now Europe's laurels on their brows behold, 295
 But stain'd with blood, or ill exchang'd for gold,
 Then see them broke with toils, or sunk in ease,
 Or infamous for plunder'd provinces.
 Oh wealth ill-fated ! which no act of fame
 E'er taught to shine, or sanctify'd from shame ! 300

NOTES.

VER. 283. *Or ravish'd with the whistling of a Name,*] And even this fantastic glory sometimes suffers a terrible reverse.—*Sachavarel*, in his *Voyage to I-columkill*, describing the church there, tells us, that “In one corner is a “peculiar inclosure, in which were the monuments of the “kings of many different nations, as Scotland, Ireland, “Norway, and the *Ile of Man*. THIS (said the person “who shewed me the place, pointing to a plain stone) was “the monument of the Great TEAGUE, king of Ireland. “I had never heard of him, and could not but reflect of “how little value is *Greatness* that has barely left a *name*. “scandalous to a nation, and a grave which the meanest of “mankind would never envy.”

What greater bliss attends their close of life?
 Some greedy minion, or imperious wife,
 The trophy'd arches, story'd halls invade,
 And haunt their slumbers in the pompous shade.
 Alas! not dazzled with their noon-tide ray, 305
 Compute the morn and ev'ning to the day;
 The whole amount of that enormous fame,
 A Tale that blends their glory with their shame!

Know then this truth (enough for Man to know)
 "Virtue alone is Happiness below."

The only point where human bliss stands still,
 And tastes the good without the fall to ill; 310
 Where only Merit constant pay receives,
 Is blest in what it takes, and what it gives;
 The joy unequal'd if its end it gain,
 And if it lose, attended with no pain:
 Without satiety, tho' e'er so blest, 315
 And but more relish'd as the more distress'd:
 The broadest mirth unfeeling Folly wears,
 Less pleasing far than Virtue's very tears.
 Good, from each object, from each place acquir'd,
 For ever exercis'd, yet never tir'd; 320
 Never elated, while one Man's oppress'd;
 Never dejected, while another's blest'd;
 And where no wants, no wishes can remain,
 Since but to wish more Virtue, is to gain.

See! the sole bliss Heav'n could on all bestow; 325
 Which who but feels can taste, but thinks can know:

Ep. IV. ESSAY ON MAN.

93

Yet poor with fortune, and with learning blind,
 The bad must miss ; the good , untaught, will find ;
 Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,
 But looks thro' Nature, up to Nature's God ; 330
 Pursues that Chain which links th' immense design,
 Joins heav'n and earth, and mortal and divine ;
 Sees, that no being any bliss can know,
 But touches some above, and some below ;
 Learns, from this union of the rising Whole, 335
 The first, last purpose of the human soul ;
 And knows where Faith, Law, Morals, all began,
 All end, in LOVE of GOD, and LOVE of MAN.

For him alone, Hope leads from goal to goal,
 And opens still, and opens on his soul, 340

NOTES.

VER. 339. *For him alone, Hope leads from goal to goal,]*
 When the honest simple hearted man, on his first setting
 out in the pursuit of Truth, in order to Happiness, has had
 the wisdom

To look thro' Nature up to Nature's God,
 (instead of adhering to any sect or party, where there was
 so great odds of his chusing wrong) that then the benefit
 of gaining the knowledge of *God's will written in the*
mind, is not confined there: For standing on this sure
 foundation, he is now no longer in danger of chusing
 wrong, amidst such diversities of Religions; but by pur-
 suing this grand Scheme of universal Benevolence, in
 practice as well as theory, he arrives at length to the know-
 ledge of *the revealed will of God*, which is the consumma-
 tion of the system of benevolence:

For him alone, Hope leads from goal to goal,
 And opens still, and opens on his soul,

'Till lengthen'd on to Faith, and unconfin'd,
 It pours the bliss that fills up all the mind.
 He sees, why Nature plants in Man alone
 Hope of known bliss, and Faith in bliss unknown :
 (Nature, whose dictates to no other kind 345
 Are giv'n in vain, but what they seek they find)
 Wise is her present ; she connects in this
 His greatest Virtue with his greatest Bliss,

NOTES.

'Till lengthen'd on to Faith, and unconfin'd,
 It pours the bliss that fills up all the mind.

VER. 339. *For him alone, Hope leads from goal to goal, &c.*] PLATO, in his first book of a Republic, hath a remarkable passage to this purpose. " He whose conscience
 " does not reproach him, has chearful *Hope* for his com-
 " panion, and the support and comfort of his old age, ac-
 " cording to Pindar. For this great poet, O Socrates,
 " very elegantly says, That he who leads a just and holy
 " life has always amiable *Hope* for his companion,
 " which fills his heart with joy, and is the support and
 " comfort of his old age. *Hope*, the most powerful of the
 " Divinities, in governing the everchanging and incon-
 " stant temper of mortal men." Τῷ δὲ μηδὲν ἐκὼς ἀδικον
 ξυνειδότι ἡδεῖ αἰλπίς αἰεὶ παρέσι, καὶ ἀγαθὴ γηροτρόφος, ὥς καὶ
 Πίνδαρος λέγει. Χαρίεντως γάρ τοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὰτ' ἐκείνος
 εἶπεν, ὅτι ὅς ἂν δικαίως καὶ ὁσίως τὸν βίον διαγάγῃ, γλυκεῖά
 οἱ καρδίαν ἀτάλῃσσι γηροτρόφος συναορεῖ ἐλπίς, ἃ μάλιστα
 θνατῶν πολύτροφον γνῶμαν κεραινεῖ. In the same manner
 Euripides speaks in his *Hercules furens*,

Οὗτος δ' ἀνὴρ ἄριστος, ὅστις ἐλπίσιν
 Πέποιθεν αἰεί. τὸ δ' ἀπορεῖν, ἀνδρὸς κακῆς. § 105.

" He is the good man in whose breast *Hope* springs eter-
 " nally: But to be without *Hope* in the world is the porti-
 " on of the wicked."

Ep. IV. ESSAY ON MAN.

95

At once his own bright prospect to be blest,
And strongest motive to assist the rest.

350

Self-love thus push'd to social, to divine,
Gives thee to make thy neighbour's blessing thine.

NOTES.

VER. 351. *Self-love thus push'd to social, &c.*] The poet here marks out the Progress of his good man's Benevolence, pushed through natural religion to revealed, 'till it arrives to that height which the sacred writers describe as the very summit of Christian perfection: And shews how the progress of *human* differs from the progress of *divine* benevolence. That the divine descends from *whole* to *parts*; but that the human must rise from *individual* to *universal*. His argument for this extended benevolence is, that as God has made a Whole, whose parts have a perfect relation to, and an entire dependency on each other; Man, by extending his benevolence throughout that Whole, acts in conformity to the will of his Creator; and therefore this Enlargement of his affection becomes a duty. But the poet hath not only shewn his piety in this observation, but the utmost art and address likewise in the disposition of it. The Essay on Man opens with exposing the murmurings and impious conclusions of foolish men against the present constitution of things: As it proceeds, it occasionally detects all those false principles and opinions that led them to conclude thus perversely. Having now done all that was necessary in Speculation, the author turns to Practice; and ends his Essay with the recommendation of an acknowledged virtue, CHARITY; which, if exercised in the *Extent* that conformity to the will of God requires, would effectually prevent all complaints against the present order of things: such complaints being made with a total disregard to every thing but their *own private system*, and seeking remedy in the disorder, and at the expence, of all the rest. This observation,

Is this too little for the boundless heart?

Extend it, let thy enemies have part :

Grasp the whole worlds of Reason, Life, and Sense, 355

In one close system of Benevolence :

Happier as kinder, in whate'er degree,

And height of Bliss but height of Charity.

God loves from Whole to Parts : But human soul

Must rise from Individual to the Whole. 360

Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,

As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake ;

The centre mov'd, a circle strait succeeds,

Another still, and still another spreads,

NOTES.

Self love but serves the virtuous mind to wake, is important : Rochefaucault, Esprit, and their wordy disciple Mandeville, had observed that Self-love was the *Origin* of all those virtues Mankind most admire ; and therefore foolishly supposed it was the *End* likewise : And so taught that the highest pretences to disinterestedness were only the more artful disguises of Self-love. But our author, who says, somewhere or other,

Of human Nature, Wit its worst may write,

We all revere it in our own despite,

saw, as well as they and every body else, that the Passions began in Self love ; yet he understood human Nature better than to imagine they terminated there. He knew that Reason and Religion could convert Selfishness into its very opposite ; and therefore teaches that

Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake :

And thus hath vindicated the dignity of human Nature, and the philosophic truth of the Christian doctrine.

Ep. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 97

Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace,
His country next, and next all human race;
Wide and more wide, th' o'erflowings of the mind
Take ev'ry creature in of ev'ry kind; 370
Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blest,
And Heav'n beholds its image in his breast.

Come then, my Friend, my Genius, come along,
Oh master of the poet, and the song!

NOTES.

VER. 373. *Come then, my Friend! &c.*] This noble Apostrophe, by which the Poet concludes the Essay in an address to his friend, will furnish a Critic with Examples of every one of those *five* Species of Elocution, from which, as from its Sources, Longinus deduceth the *SUBLIME*^a.

1. The ~~first~~ and chief is a *Grandeur and Sublimity of Conception*:

Come then, my Friend! my Genius! come along,
O Master of the Poet and the Song!
And while the Muse now stoops, and now ascends,
To Man's low passions, or their glorious ends,

2. The *Second*, that *Pathetic Enthusiasm*, which, at the same Time, melts and inflames:

Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,
To fall with dignity, with temper rise,
Form'd by thy converse, happily to steer
From grave to gay, from lively to severe;

^a — πέντε πηγαί τινές εἰσιν τ' ὑψηγορίας. 1. Πρῶτον μὲν καὶ κράτιστον τὸ περὶ τὰς νήσεις ἀδρεπήβολον. 2. Δεύτερον δὲ τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πάθος. 3. Ποιὰ τῶν σχημάτων πλάσις. 4. Ἡ γενναῖα φράσις. 5. Πέμπτη δὲ μεγέθους αἰτία, καὶ συγκλείουσα τὰ πρὸ ἐαυτῆς ἅπαντα, ἢ ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ διάρσει σύνθεσις.

And while the Muse now stoops, or now ascends, 375
 To Man's low passions, or their glorious ends,
 Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,
 To fall with dignity, with temper rise;
 Form'd by thy converse, happily to steer
 From grave to gay, from lively to severe; 380.
 Correct with spirit, eloquent with ease,
 Intent to reason, or polite to please.
 Oh! while along the stream of Time thy name
 Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame,
 Say, shall my little bark attendant sail, 385
 Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale?

NOTES.

Correct with spirit, eloquent with ease,
 Intent to reason, or polite to please.

3. A certain elegant Formation and Ordonance of Figures:

O! while along the stream of Time thy name
 Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame,
 Say, shall my little bark attendant sail,
 Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale!

4. A splendid Diction:

When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,
 Whose sons shall blush their fathers were thy foes,
 Shall then this verse to future age pretend
 Thou wert my guide, philosopher, and friend?
 That, urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful art,
 From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart;
 For Wit's false mirror held up Nature's light;

5. And *fitly*, which includes in itself all the rest, a Weight and Dignity in the Composition:

Shew'd erring Pride whatever is, is RIGHT;
 That REASON, PASSION, answer *one great AIM*;
 That true SELF-LOVE and SOCIAL are the SAME;
 That VIRTUE only makes our BLISS below;
 And all our Knowledge is OURSELVES TO KNOW?

Ep. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 99

When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,
 Whose sons shall blush their fathers were thy foes,
 Shall then this verse to future age pretend
 Thou wert my guide, philosopher, and friend? 390
 That, urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful art
 From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart;
 For Wit's false mirror held up Nature's light;
 Shew'd erring Pride, WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT;
 That REASON, PASSION, answer one great aim; 395
 That true SELF-LOVE and SOCIAL are the same;
 That VIRTUE only makes our Bliss below;
 And all our Knowledge is, OURSELVES TO KNOW.

NOTES.

VER. 394. *Shew'd erring Pride, Whatever Is, is Right;*] The poet's address to his friend, which concludes this epistle so nobly, and ends with a recapitulation of the general argument, affords me the following observation, with which I shall conclude these remarks. There is one great beauty that shines through the whole Essay: The poet, whether he speaks of Man as an Individual, a Member of Society, or the Subject of Happiness, never misseeth an opportunity, while he is explaining his state under any of these capacities, to illustrate it in the most artful manner by the inforcement of his grand principle, *That every thing tends to the good of the Whole*. From whence his system receives the reciprocal advantage of having that grand Theorem realized by facts, and his facts justified on a principle of Right or Nature.



8 MA64



T H E

Universal Prayer.

D E O O P T. M A X.

FATHER of All! in ev'ry Age,
 In ev'ry Clime ador'd,
 By Saint, by Savage, and by Sage,
 Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

NOTES.

Universal Prayer.] Concerning this poem, it may be proper to observe, that some passages, in the preceding *Essay*, having been unjustly suspected of a tendency towards *Fatē* and *Naturalism*, the author composed this Prayer as the sum of all, to shew that his system was founded in *free-will*, and terminated in piety: That the first cause was as well the Lord and Governor of the Universe as the Creator of it; and that, by submission to his will (the great principle inforced throughout the *Essay*) was not meant the suffering ourselves to be carried along with a blind determination; but a religious acquiescence, and confidence full of *Hope* and Immortality. To give all this the greater weight and reality, the poet chose for his model the LORD'S PRAYER, which, of all others, best deserves the title prefixed to this Paraphrase.

102 The UNIVERSAL PRAYER.

Thou Great First Cause, least understood : 5

Who all my Sense confin'd

To know but this, that Thou art Good,
And that myself am blind ;

Yet gave me, in this dark Estate,
To see the Good from Ill ; 10

And binding Nature fast in Fate,
Left free the Human Will.

What Conscience dictates to be done,
Or warns me not to do,
This, teach me more than Hell to shun, 15
That, more than Heav'n pursue.

What Blessings thy free Bounty gives,
Let me not cast away ;
For God is paid when Man receives,
T' enjoy is to obey. 20

Yet not to Earth's contracted Span
Thy Goodness let me bound,
Or think Thee Lord alone of Man,
When thousand Worlds are round :

Let not this weak unknowing hand 25
Presume Thy Bolts to throw,
And deal Damnation round the land,
On each I judge thy Foe :

The UNIVERSAL PRAYER. 103

If I am right, thy GRACE impart
Still in the right to stay ; 30

If I am wrong, oh teach my heart
To find that better Way ;

Save me alike from foolish Pride,
Or impious Discontent,
At ought thy Wisdom has deny'd, 35
Or ought thy Goodness lent.

Teach me to feel another's Woe ;
To hide the fault I see ;
That Mercy I to others show,
That Mercy show to me. 40

Mean tho' I am, not wholly so,
Since quicken'd by thy Breath :
Oh lead me wheresoe'er I go,
Thro' this day's Life or Death.

NOTES.

VER. 29. *If I am right, thy grace impart —
If I am wrong, oh teach my heart]*

As the *imparting grace* on the christian system is a stronger exertion of the divine power, than the natural illumination of the heart, one would expect that the request should have been expressed reversely ; more aid being required to restore men to the *right* than to keep them in it. But as it was the poet's purpose to insinuate that Revelation was the *right*, nothing could better express his purpose than the making the *right* secured by the guards of *grace*.

104 The UNIVERSAL PRAYER.

This Day, be Bread and Peace my Lot:

45

All else beneath the Sun

Thou know'st if best bestow'd or not,

And let Thy Will be done.

To Thee, whose Temple is all Space,

Whose Altar, Earth, Sea, Skies,

50

One Chorus let all Being raise!

All Nature's Incense rise!

F I N I S.

8 MAG4



